

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY



125 827

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

RUSSIA

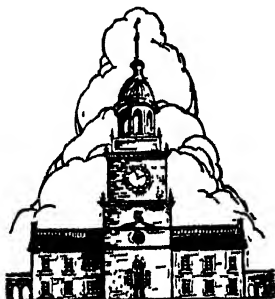
AND

THE BATTLE OF LIBERATION

By

CHARLES S. SEELY

Lieutenant-Commander, United States Navy, Retired.
Member: Founders & Patriots of America, Sons of the
American Revolution, Military Order of the Loyal
Legion, Military Order of Foreign Wars, and
the American Legion



DORRANCE & COMPANY
PHILADELPHIA

•

COPYRIGHT 1942
CHARLES S SEELY

First Edition 1942
Second Edition 1942
Third Edition 1944
Fourth Edition 1945

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To
THE DEFENDERS
OF LIBERTY

AUTHOR'S NOTE

This book was originally issued under the title of "RUSSIA AND THE APPROACH OF ARMAGEDDON," and is now in the ninth edition (including a special edition which is sold only in Australasia), having been brought up to date from time to time. The title was changed and an epilogue added when it became obvious that the "Armageddon" had arrived, and this is the fourth edition under the new title.

Because liberty and freedom and democracy all over the world depend greatly on Russian aid and Russian strength, it is imperative that we in America have a better understanding of Russia, her people and their new political-social-economic system. It is also quite necessary that we discard our fear of an extension of that system, because we cannot be friendly toward, or cooperate fully with, Russia until we know at least enough about her system to realize that it presents no danger to us. For these reasons it is hoped that this book provides satisfactory answers to the most usual questions raised about Russia, and her new system.

The opinions and assertions contained in this book are the private ones of the writer and are not to be construed as official or reflecting the views of the Navy Department or the naval service at large.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
FOREWORD	7
I. INTRODUCTION TO NEW RUSSIA.....	15
II. GOVERNMENT	34
III. COURTS	38
IV. FARMING	42
V. RELIGION	48
VI. ENTHUSIASM	69
VII. FREEDOM	72
VIII. POLICY	75
IX. AIMS	80
X. CONCLUSIONS	91
* * * *	
EPILOGUE	96

FOREWORD

Shortly before the war I completed a trip around the world during which I was away from the United States more than a year and a half and visited about thirty-eight different countries, including almost every important country in the world. Nearly all of my time, however, was spent in countries having densely populated areas, such as Japan, China, Malaya, Java, Australia, Burma, India, Egypt, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Russia, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, England, Ireland, and Scotland. More than two-thirds of my time was spent in the six countries which then influenced the Eastern Hemisphere much more than all the other countries in the world combined, namely, Russia, Germany, Italy, Japan, England, and France.

I visited more than two hundred cities including such large centers of population as Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya, Kyoto, Kobe, Yokahama, Shanghai, Hongkong, Singapore, Batavia, Rangoon, Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay, Cairo, Rome, Genoa, Milan, Florence, Venice, Naples, Athens, Constantinople, Belgrade, Budapest, Vienna, Prague, Warsaw, Moscow, Leningrad, Riga, Berlin, Cologne, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Antwerp, Brussels, Paris, Marseilles, London, Birmingham, Leeds, Bristol, Newcastle, Dublin, Belfast, Glasgow, and Edinburgh.

I interviewed considerably more than two thousand persons. My object was to learn something about world

trends in politics and sociology, to learn what the people—especially the masses—of the world were thinking and doing.

The parts of this book which deal with world politics and sociology represent mainly a cross-section of the opinions of all of the people I interviewed.

One of the prominent American traits is that we always believe what the "big" man says. For that reason, of course, our newspapers annually spend thousands of dollars sending their star reporters to interview the great of Europe to get their views on political matters. During the winter of 1937-38, one of our former great political leaders went to Europe and according to reports, interviewed one hundred of the great leaders there. When he returned to the United States, he was hailed as the man who had found out all there was to find out; he had all the answers. Had he not interviewed the great? Newspapers carried editorials concerning his observations. One of his observations, incidentally, was that Socialism was a bad failure. He learned this, strangely enough, without visiting Russia! Evidently the great leaders told him so.

Actually, the great—especially the political leaders or others in high places—are not at liberty to speak their thoughts freely. They of necessity must always keep in mind their positions, and say only those things which will produce the proper reactions on the masses; they must never, under any circumstances, say anything that may cause themselves to lose prestige. For those reasons, I did not interview, or try to interview, Stalin, Hitler, Chamberlain, Mussolini, or any of the other then great, or near great. I never spent any time in the ante-chambers of the mighty. In fact, I did not waste valuable time on anybody who I had reason to believe might have an axe to grind, or who indicated in any way that he was not at liberty to speak his mind. If a person was not ready and willing to give me his

opinion freely and without reservation of any kind, I concluded that his testimony was not worth taking. This conclusion was arrived at after I discovered—and I made the discovery early—that the great majority of the intelligent people of the Eastern Hemisphere—and especially those in Europe—were perfectly willing to discuss such controversial subjects as Communism, Fascism, Socialism, Nazism, Leftism, Rightism, etc., without the slightest hesitation.

Foreigners generally, especially those living in countries where there is freedom of speech, and there are many such countries, seem to consider that those and kindred subjects are not only of extreme interest, but are also of such vital importance to mankind that they should be discussed freely whenever it is possible to do so, in order that every new viewpoint may be obtained, examined, and disseminated as widely as possible. The object, of course, is to acquaint the people with those subjects so that they can recognize them when they make their appearance, and, therefore, be better qualified to judge them. It follows that foreigners are better able than Americans are to detect and guard against the dangers in new political philosophies, and also better able to take advantage of any good ideas that may be present in them. These facts made my investigation comparatively simple.

In America, of course, the situation would have been entirely different. While foreigners discuss freely new political, social, economic, and religious ideas, Americans do not. We generally refuse to learn anything about even Leftism and Rightism and resent being accused of knowing anything about the ideologies embodied in them, especially so about the more extreme branches of those isms. Without knowing anything whatever about them we proudly state that they are all bad—that they are awful—and that is all there is to it. We go to absurd extremes in this matter. If any-

one happens to say or write anything favorable concerning any important foreign ideology, some individual or organization which believes in freedom of speech may assault him, and newspapers which have for their motto "The Freedom of the Press," are liable to denounce him. This contradictory attitude we take is purely American. It cannot be found in any other free country in the world, or in fact in any other country which has even a semblance of our ideas of freedom. It seems incredible that this could be true in a country like the United States, where a high standard of civilization has been reached, and where the average citizen is presumably intelligent and educated; but it is an inescapable fact. We make no attempt to deny it. We are proud of the fact that we are ignorant of foreign affairs. We glory in it. We believe in, and religiously practice, the doctrine of "ignorance is the best policy," as far as new political, social, economic or religious theories are concerned.

Europeans contend that this attitude is undesirable from a practical standpoint. If one does not learn about new ideas, how is one to guard against bad ideas or take advantage of good ideas?

It is to be expected that if we continue our time-honored custom of ignoring foreign affairs, we may find ourselves lagging behind in political, social, and economic thought. Indeed, Europeans contend that the United States averages ten to fifteen years behind Europe in social legislation, and point to our government relief for the needy, our social security laws, and our old age pensions as excellent examples of following Europe in social legislation. Those ideas had been in force in Europe for some years before we adopted them. In fact, we proudly proclaimed that we would never have them, that we were too proud to have them, and anyway we would not copy anything that Europe had. We have now, however, quite forgotten about those

declarations and have fallen into line in the march of social progress.

The reason why we Americans take the stand that we do concerning foreign political and other ideas is that we have been taught—presumably by our betters—for such a long time that it is an unpardonable sin to examine political, social, or economic ideas that did not originate in America, that now we usually refuse to discuss them, or even listen to anyone who tries to shed any light on them. We contend that it is un-American to learn anything about Communism, Socialism, or in fact any of the chief isms. We contend that anybody who tries to tell us anything about the politics of other nations, or about theories of government other than our own, and especially about political ideas that are not sponsored by either the Republican Party or the conservative wing of the Democratic Party, is trying to overthrow our government and, therefore, should be locked up or deported as a dangerous radical.

A short time ago I delivered an address during the course of which I made some favorable remarks about several foreign countries. Shortly afterward I was asked—by a naturalized American citizen—why I did not go to one of those countries and stay there if I liked them so well? The question was welcomed as it gave me an opportunity to state my position, which is just this: I have no intention of deserting the United States or of keeping silent on questions concerning the dangers or safeguards with which Americans should be acquainted, because I have an interest in the United States. That interest is, incidentally, considerably greater than the interest of most Americans who ask heckling questions. In the first place, I served nearly twenty-one years on active duty in the U. S. Naval service, and was present on duty protecting the interests of the United States in many wars where my life was in danger. All of this service was voluntary. In the

second place, I have many thousands of blood relatives living and dead in the United States. My ancestors have been builders of the United States ever since the establishment of the English speaking race on the American continent.

I believe that it will be sufficient for most readers to know that I am a member of the Founders and Patriots of America, Sons of the American Revolution, Military Order of the Loyal Legion, Military Order of Foreign Wars, and the American Legion, but if that is not enough, I suggest that doubters inquire into the qualifications for membership in those organizations.

I know the names of seventy-three direct ancestors who are buried in the United States, and not one of them was an Indian—or part Indian. The founder of each line of my ancestors in America, without exception, came to that part of America which is now the United States, long before the year 1700.

From the foregoing it should be plainly evident even to the most suspicious, that my entire background is completely pro-American, and most certainly not pro-foreign. Should anyone desire to question my Americanism, or the motives which cause me to attempt this modest effort to impart certain facts concerning foreign affairs to my fellow Americans, let him first produce a better American background than I have.

During my trip around the world I saw hundreds of the great wonders of the world, including many of the very greatest man-made and natural wonders, but nothing impressed me more deeply than the world-wide awakening of the masses. I walked aimlessly about in many great cities, mingling with the multitudes in order to study the people at close range. There was no doubt that enslaved and downtrodden peoples all over the world were no longer satisfied with barely existing; their chains had to be struck off or they would strike them off themselves. Their leaders had to raise the

standard of living or face open revolt. Governments were anxious and worried, and were trying to ameliorate the burdens of the people.

After making many inquiries as to why this was true, I noted that almost without exception everybody I interviewed was of the opinion that the general unrest throughout the Eastern Hemisphere was due almost entirely to Russian influence. I therefore decided that if I were to get at the root of the matter it was necessary for me to go to Russia and examine the system in force there. What terrible doctrine did the Russians have that was causing so much unrest throughout the world?

If I had formed an opinion of Russia before I visited that country, it certainly was not a favorable one. The six different military and patriot organizations, of which I am a member, have always been entirely opposed to the new Russian system, and they warn their members as well as outsiders against it, and do their very best to expose the "terrible evils" of what they consider an awful, un-Christian doctrine.

Before going to Russia, I was under the impression that the situation there was about as follows:

1. Oppression, persecution, and terrorism were rampant throughout the land, and the life of the average citizen was a miserable one.

2. All freedom had been entirely crushed out.

3. A few ex-convicts and gangsters had seized power, and were living in Babylonian luxury while holding everybody else in virtual slavery.

4. All churches were closed, and all priests and other ministers of the gospel were shot on sight or thrown into vile dungeons, where they were left to starve to death; and anyone who dared go near a church risked his life.

5. Stark hunger and famine were spreading throughout the land and many millions of Russians were dying of starvation. (According to reports recently circulated

in the United States, between 3,000,000 and 7,000,000 people starved to death in one small section of Russia in 1933.)

6. All private initiative had long since been crushed out.

7. Bolsheviks had murdered all of the educated and intelligent people in Russia and all the leaders there were crassly ignorant.

8. The people were eagerly awaiting an opportunity to rise in revolt, and throw off their cruel yoke.

9. The chances of a traveler returning from Russia without having some unpleasant experiences were not good.

I believe that the average American citizen will admit—to himself at least—that until the battle of Stalingrad the above mentioned nine points just about covered his ideas on the subject of Russia.

—C. S. S.

Orange, Va.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO NEW RUSSIA

Before visiting Russia, I tried to learn something about the situation there, but was never able to find a way to approach the subject.

Understanding Russia was then difficult because when a minister of the gospel visited that country he usually discovered that religion was being persecuted there; a capitalist usually found that the economic structure was unsound, and that a general breakdown with starvation and famine was the immediate prospect; a lawyer found that the legal system was all wrong; newspaper reporters found all manner of things wrong there. On the other hand, when humanitarians visited Russia, they usually found conditions good there.

Before visiting Russia, I thought it odd that humanitarians seldom found anything bad there, while the other investigators seldom found anything good there. All this was decidedly confusing. Obviously there was considerable disagreement as to the truth about Russia, but how were we to learn the facts? Who could be sent to Russia to discover the truth? Who could be trusted to make an absolutely impartial examination of conditions in Russia? I do not know what the reader may think about it, but it seems to me that a person who is financially independent; who is not in politics; who has no job to lose, business to suffer, or political friends to embarrass; who has traveled extensively in, and has made examinations of, many other foreign

countries; who has no axe to grind—as was my situation when I visited Russia—is better suited for the task than someone who may have some interest other than the truth to serve.

This report includes not only what I actually saw with my own eyes and heard with my own ears, but also what was recorded by the eyes and ears of about fifty other adults, whom I met in Russia.

Except for a rather anti-Russian opinion which I had accumulated by reading newspapers and magazines, and by listening to stories about Russia from people who thought that they understood that country, I went to Russia with an open, inquiring mind, without any real knowledge of the conditions existing in that country. I have, incidentally, visited and made at least some sort of examination of conditions in at least fifty different countries.

First, I wish to make it entirely clear that I do not claim to have seen all of Russia. I have seen only a very small part of that country, but I have seen that part where the new Russian system is farthest advanced; where it has been given its most exacting tests.

I did not waste time traveling over thousands of miles of area where there was little of the new order of things to see; where the new Russian system has not had the necessary time or opportunity to make any important impressions. One must remember that Russia is a vast country; by far the largest country in the world; that it contains somewhere between one-sixth and one-seventh of all the land in the world. One could spend many years traveling about Russia and learn practically nothing except that the railroads and highways are not as good as ours. It seems to me that this would be a rather foolish waste of time and money. Why not take it for granted that Russia's transportation facilities are considerably below our standards? The Russians, themselves, freely admit it. Why not go directly to Moscow

where the new Russian movement has reached its crest? Well, anyway, that is what I did.

Among the places I visited in Russia were Moscow and Leningrad; several other cities or towns, and a collective farm.

In Moscow I visited the Moscow City Court during a trial; Red Square on Red Square Day; many schools and museums; several factories and theatres; a marriage bureau; a divorce bureau; a young peoples' club; a children's club; Lenin's tomb; a prophylactorium; a great kitchen which provides hot meals for the workers while they are in the factories; and many other places.

I rode in the Moscow subway, a masterpiece of steel and marble, and examined it closely enough to become convinced that it is the most beautiful and efficient subway in the world. I have, incidentally, ridden in and made at least some sort of examination of practically every subway in the world.

I visited a ball bearing factory in Moscow employing 24,000 people, fifty per cent of whom were women. I saw in this factory many very small flags secured to many of the machines. The machines so decorated had turned out the best or most work. The idea was to indicate which workers in the factory were doing the best or most work, and thus develop a competitive spirit among them. I did not see the slightest sign of anybody being driven or overworked in any way. I noticed a serious shortage of modern, labor-saving machinery, safety devices, and skilled labor in this factory, and in fact in all the other factories I visited in Russia. Russia had all but ceased buying machinery from foreign countries. She then expected to build most, if not all, of her machinery. Europeans generally considered this the most serious industrial mistake the Russians were then making, as Russia actually needed and needed badly, millions of modern machines of all kinds, which foreign countries could have sold her far cheaper than she could

build them. The apparent stubborn attitude of the Russians in this matter was then temporarily slowing down industrial developments. The Russian officials insisted, however, that Russia must be a self-supporting and self-contained country, and, therefore, her people must not depend upon other countries; that they must learn to make their own machines, so they might as well get started. Working on the same hypothesis, the Russian officials had sent home nearly all of their foreign technical advisers.

The deplorable lack of modern safety devices and skilled labor was reflected at the first-aid dressing station. There I saw many people with cuts and bruises, waiting in line to have their wounds dressed.

In a soap factory I noted that the workers not only worked in a leisurely manner, but also that many of them performed their tasks while sitting, just as is done in some of our modern factories. In this factory I was shown a machine which had been invented only recently by a young Russian engineer. I understand that there are many inventors in the factories who keep a constant lookout for ways and means of improving the machinery.

In Moscow there is being erected a great building to be known as the Palace of the Soviets. This building is to cover about twenty acres of ground, and will contain many offices and halls for conferences, congresses and similar meetings. The largest hall will seat 21,000 people. On the top of the building is to be the largest statue ever made, a heroic figure of Lenin. The height of the building, including the statue, is to be nearly 1,400 feet, which will make it by far the tallest man-made structure in the world; much taller than the Empire State Building.

The Russians are convinced that neither the United States nor any other country will erect a larger or taller building than this one for many years. Stalin wants

to call the world's attention to Russia. He knows that many people will go to Russia to see this building, as it will be one of the great wonders of the world, and he will see to it that the visitors see a great deal more of Russia than this building. In this way propaganda favorable to Russia will be spread. This is Stalin's idea of the best way to create a favorable world opinion of new Russia.

Both Moscow and Leningrad are well lighted with electricity, and I understand that all, or certainly nearly all, of Russia's very many cities, towns, and villages now have electric lights. Before the Revolution, probably less than ten per cent of even the cities had either electric or gas lights.

From an agricultural country which was backward, to say the least, and with little other industry, Russia has advanced to *second* place in world industrial production; second only to the United States. There is every reason to believe that she will pass the United States before many years.

The above illustrations give one some idea of the magnitude of the accomplishments under the present Russian system.

In Leningrad I visited many places similar to those which I visited in Moscow.

In both Moscow and Leningrad, I saw a great many enormous buildings under construction; most of which were apartment houses. There was a serious housing shortage in both Moscow and Leningrad. Moscow, for example, then had proper housing facilities for only about 2,000,000 people, but about 4,000,000 people were living in that city.

From 1927, the year discord and strife were finally brought near enough to a close to permit the government to get started on the first Five Year Plan, people everywhere in Russia moved in great numbers to the cities. Since the new Russian system is much further

advanced, and much more firmly established, in the cities than anywhere else, it would seem that the people prefer to live and work under the new system, otherwise they would remain where they were.

In Leningrad I made a rather careful inspection of a great apartment house containing 644 apartments in which about 3,500 people were living. It had its own school, hospital, nursery, clinic, dental office, central kitchen, theatre, library, children's library, social club, children's club, etc. It is a square building with a large courtyard in the middle, which is used as a children's playground. I understand that all the new apartment houses in Russia are being built on plans similar to this one.

Under the new Russian system, both the husband and wife of a city family usually work in a factory, office, store, or some other place. That is, they are both wage earners. The house work is usually done by them, but quite often—and this system is increasing in popularity—by some one else. Meals may be obtained from the central kitchen, or may be prepared in the family apartment, but patronage of the central kitchen is encouraged by making the cost of meals—when they are obtained from the central kitchen—very much less than they could possibly be when prepared by individuals or families. The Russians seem to be introducing a variation of the boarding house idea on a grand scale.

Mothers take their small babies to the place where they work, and leave them in a nursery there. Mothers are allowed time off from their work, without loss of pay, to nurse their babies.

Older children of pre-school age, are left in a central nursery in the apartment house, in care of doctors and nurses. In this case the children are separated according to ages. For example, the seven-year-olds are placed in one part of the nursery, the six-year-olds in another,

and the five-year-olds in still another, and so on. That is, each child in Russia grows up with others of his own age as far as it is possible to provide accommodations. This is done to prevent the development of superiority or inferiority complexes.

The whole Russian idea centers on Lenin. Nearly every day that I was in Moscow, I saw long lines of people, old and young, but the great majority were young, marching through Lenin's tomb to see the body. The line moved rapidly as one is not allowed to stop in the tomb. One gets a good look at Lenin's body, however, as the route takes him within about four feet of it, and almost all the way around it.

The body is lying on a couch, in a glass case, dressed in a plain soldier's uniform without any insignia, or other decorations, except one small medal, and is in a remarkable state of preservation. Lenin had been dead nearly thirteen years when I saw his body, but it appeared to be that of a sleeping person. Reflecting mirrors are arranged so that the body may be seen from many different angles.

Many millions of Russians visit this tomb every year. In fact, many more people visit this tomb than visit any other tomb in the world. I believe that I am perfectly safe in making this statement as I have not only visited almost every one of the world's greatest tombs, but also have stood by the tombs of several hundred of the world's greatest dead, who are not provided with magnificent tombs.

The Russian officials are building up Lenin as a mighty hero, and champion of the cause of the masses, in the eyes of the Russian people, especially the children. All school children in Moscow, or nearby cities, must see the body at least once; they are marched past it by their teachers. All this is important to remember—especially by the enemies of Russia—as it is building up and strengthening the morale of the Russian people.

Lenin's ability to hold the confidence of his followers was so great that he was able to overcome difficulties of unprecedented magnitude. No man on this earth ever overcame greater difficulties than those which faced Lenin during the period from 1916 to 1924. But because he did overcome them and laid the foundation for the Soviet Union he is now almost worshipped by practically all the people of the Union. Only the very old Russians, those who belong to a past age, ignore him. They, of course, will soon pass along.

Lenin can be compared with Abraham Lincoln. But Lincoln never received the national acclaim that was accorded Lenin. Lincoln, even now, is not held in high esteem by many of his countrymen.

Lenin seems to have died at an opportune time—just as Lincoln did. They were both at the very zenith of their fame and power, and undermining influences had not yet begun. This is especially true in the case of Lenin. If Lincoln had lived, he probably could have withstood any undermining efforts of his opponents, or detractors; he might even have risen to greater heights; but it is very doubtful if Lenin could have done so. It is true, of course, that during the last few years of his life, the thinking masses of Russia were just as solidly for Lenin as the masses of the United States were for President Roosevelt; therefore, it is doubtful whether Lenin would have consented to any radical change in the original plan, of liberating the masses of the world, for the conservative plan of consolidation of Russia's hard won gains, which some of the more conservative leaders of his party were advocating. During that period the very air of Russia was surcharged with the idea of world revolution. Many Russians wanted to attack those nations which had landed troops in Russia to reestablish Czarism. They knew that those intervening nations had caused the deaths of millions of their children by starvation. They wanted revenge.

Could Lenin have prevented such a suicidal attack? Probably not.

One of the most interesting places I visited in Russia was the Romanoff Palace. It was then certainly almost as it was when the Czar and his family were taken away. I saw there about thirty of the Czar's uniforms, and thirteen of the Czarina's gowns, and other personal effects of members of the Imperial family. They were still in their accustomed places. It seemed as though the caretakers were expecting their Majesties to return at any moment. I even saw the Czar's personal desk calendar, with the page for July 31, 1917, the day he left, still intact. He used personally to tear off the daily page at the end of the day.

I carefully examined the Czarina's bedroom. It was probably just about as she left it. Her 800 "icons"—images of saints—to which she prayed, were still in place. I saw there a small piece of holy cloth, which the Pope of Rome had sent her—after he had specially blessed it—to cure her sick baby of a hereditary bleeding disease. This action by the Pope is considered odd by the Bolsheviks because the Czarina was not a Roman Catholic, but a Greek Orthodox, a religion not recognized by the Pope.

In a glass case, I saw a letter, with several words misspelled, that was received by the Czarina from a well known churchman of the day, who evidently had great influence over her. The Bolsheviks told me that they do not believe he was her lover, a theory that some have accepted; they told me that he was a very ignorant person, and in all probability could not have attracted the cultured Czarina. Their relationship probably was that of a desperate mother, whose sick baby boy did not respond to medical treatment, thereby forcing her to go to any extreme to find a cure for him, and that of a religious zealot who preyed on her superstitious mind to gain personal power. He provided her with magic

charms and special prayers with which to effect a cure. The boy, of course, was not cured.

I noted in the Czarina's bedroom a large portrait of Marie Antoinette. It is said that the Czarina was once asked whether or not she ever felt that the picture was a bad omen. She is said to have retorted that the Russian people were not like the French.

I saw a marriage at the Moscow Marriage Bureau. It was very simple. The man and woman arrived, gave their names and some other information about themselves, and departed. The entire act required not more than two minutes. There was no ceremony whatever. The couple did not take an oath, make any promises, or even sign anything. The marriage clerk told me: "Couples usually have a religious ceremony at a church, or private home, and then have a feast." The man sometimes takes the woman's name, the woman sometimes takes the man's name, or both retain their own names. Hyphenated names, however, are forbidden.

All children in Russia are considered legitimate whether their parents are married or not. All babies must be registered when born. Parents get an increase in salary for each child, and after the seventh child a cash bonus. Abortions are forbidden in Russia, except in cases where the health of the mother is in danger.

At the Moscow Divorce Bureau, the divorce clerk told me that while no reason had to be given to obtain a divorce, the first divorce costs fifty roubles; the second, one hundred and fifty roubles; the third, three hundred roubles, and that the rate increases proportionately. This arrangement serves to prevent marriage and divorce from being held as lightly as they were in the early days of the Revolution.

The divorce clerk said that in nearly all cases—and especially when no children are involved—a settlement is arranged out of court; but if no agreement can be reached, the court decides the case and awards the chil-

dren to the party not at fault. In the case of one child, the party at fault pays one-fourth of his or her salary for its support; in the case of two children, one-third of his or her salary; in the case of three children, one-half of his or her salary, and so on. Both the man and woman retain possession of their own property and, unless there are children, no alimony or other financial settlement is involved in the divorce. The divorce rate is falling and divorce is not common in cases where the family is large.

Moscow is one of the cleanest large cities in the world. Its streets are much cleaner than those of any of our cities, or even large towns. After I had been in Moscow for a few days, I discovered that I was perfectly free to roam about town, alone, day or night, as I pleased. I visited many out-of-the-way places at night. I was perfectly safe. In my opinion, there is less crime in Moscow than in any other large city in the world. I have arrived at this conclusion after visiting about all of the principal cities in the United States and at least 250 foreign cities, including practically all of the larger ones.

Russia has an efficient police system. Every person in Russia is registered with the police, and every person over eighteen years of age carries, at all times, identification papers which contain considerable information about himself, including his movements and prospective movements. These papers are frequently examined by the police. A person's activities, therefore, can be easily ascertained, and gangs for illegal purposes cannot very well be formed. A person cannot travel extensively in Russia without permission from the authorities. Because of these circumstances, and also because the courts tolerate no shyster lawyer methods, or other nonsense, evil doers are almost certain of arrest and punishment. The result is that crime is not at all common, and is certainly decreasing rapidly in Russia,

so fast, in fact, that it is no longer a major problem there. I am almost ready to believe that crime will disappear from Russia in the not distant future.

I mingled with the Russian people in the streets, in buses, in street cars, in factories, in theatres, in stores, in their homes and in many other public and private places. I wanted to study them at close range. I wanted to see how they looked, how well they were fed, how they were dressed, how they acted, etc. I certainly saw at least 2,000,000 Russians at close range—close enough to make some fairly accurate observations of their characteristics. They are a slow, methodical people, but they are not lazy. They never seem to hurry. They act as though they had long been in darkness, but at last have emerged into the glaring sunlight which, even though it has somewhat blinded them, causing them to stumble occasionally, has made them happy. They seem to know exactly what they want and mean to get it without interference from anybody or anything. They have determination. They are well fed and clothed, and reasonably well shod. There is an air of satisfaction and contentment about them that makes a visitor envious. They are very friendly to strangers, and to each other. There is an esprit de corps among them which is plainly noticeable. They are polite to a fault. They have enthusiasm.

Speaking for myself, I should say that a people, the like of whom the world has never seen, is being moulded in the crucible of modern Russia.

The Russians are anxious to show outsiders how well their system works. I dare say that one can see more in Moscow in a week than he can in any non-Russian city in a month. One day I wanted to visit a place where no one else in our party wanted to go. Without any hesitation, the Russian officials provided me with a Lincoln automobile, a chauffeur, and an interpreter.

I never saw in Russia the slightest evidence or sign of the oppression, persecution, or terrorism that one reads and hears so much about, although I kept a sharp lookout for those things on the faces of the people. The contrary seemed to be the rule. There was a definite lack of the furtiveness that was so common in Germany, for example. There was no evidence of neurotic tension, constraint, or repression. I saw, instead, many unmistakable evidences of happiness and contentment.

Somebody is sure to say that the Russians pulled the wool over my eyes. Well, did they? I do not think so. I believe that I know how people look and act under oppression, persecution, and terrorism. I have been present in countries when those things were flourishing. I was in Spain under the monarchy when men dared not utter the word "freedom." I was in Mexico when Huerta was dictator. I was in Haiti when the people of that country were in bondage. I was in Cuba for more than a year when Machado was in power. I have been in China and in India, countries where oppression, especially economic and religious oppression, is the rule rather than the exception. In China I once saw about twenty-five women, many of whom were old and weak, pulling a huge, iron road roller. Some of these women carried babies strapped on their backs. These women were moving the heavy road roller in exactly the same manner that the ancient Egyptians moved their huge monuments. They were straining at the ropes just as slaves of the Egyptians strained at their ropes. The only difference was that the taskmasters did not actually use whips. The whips were there just the same; the whips of economic necessity. Every woman straining at those ropes was in mortal fear of losing her job, a calamity which might mean death by starvation for her and her children—her babies. Those women feared that just as much as the slaves of the Egyptians feared

their taskmasters' whips. The taskmasters of these Chinese women, incidentally, were not heathen Chinese. They were white people of a "superior" race from a far-off land, who are said to be trying to make the heathen give up their heathen ways and become converted to Christianity. . . . They were Christians. What a travesty on the teachings of the Master! It should be mentioned in extenuation for the ancient Egyptians that they did not use women for work of this kind; they used men. Last but not least, I was in Germany under Hitler. . . . Need I say more?—Hardly. In any case, it is not probable that any real authority on the subject will demand more evidence of my qualifications to testify on it.

Certainly when I visited Russia there were not many Americans who had seen more oppression, persecution, or terrorism than I had. But this is not important, as anyone can detect Fear and her many handmaidens when they are present. Human beings generally, especially when in groups, have not advanced to a state where they can hide their fears. Many individuals can do it but groups cannot. The larger the group, the harder it is to hide fear; and I have seen many large groups of Russians.

Anyway I must confess that I am unable to comprehend the logic of those who hate Russia. Am I supposed to believe that all of those apparently happy and contented people I saw in Russia were slaves of Stalin? Were they actually under terrible oppression? Were they being persecuted and terrified? If they were they certainly had remarkable self-control, or had an unusual way of showing their fears. It taxes one's imagination a little too much when one tries to believe that Stalin has 2,000,000 slaves whom he keeps well-fed and well-dressed to show to a few unimportant foreigners. If Stalin has such supreme control over the minds of 2,000,000 oppressed, persecuted, and terrified

automatons that he can make them smile, and appear happy and contented for days on end while being observed by visiting travelers, he is a wonder; he has succeeded in accomplishing something that no other leader, ancient or modern, has ever done.

I firmly believe that the overwhelming majority of the Russian people are happy and contented for the simple reason that they are very much better off, under the present system, than they were under the old regime. Not only the common people benefited by the change, but many of the so-called upper middle class people are just as well off now as they were before. Scientists, teachers, doctors, dentists, engineers, chemists, architects, and businessmen of every kind, who joined the Revolution in time—an important point—lost practically nothing. Revolution or no revolution, these people were needed. Priests, Nobles, and the Idle Rich did not fare well, it seems; the authorities were somewhat suspicious of them. Even now those classes do not seem to fit well into the socialistic picture, and they are rapidly decreasing in number. The rich, however, were about the only people who, as a class, lost heavily by the change that came over Russia.

There is not the slightest doubt that Russia is advancing faster than any other country in the world, and that the overwhelming majority of the Russian people believe that they are living under the best political-social-economic system now possible in Russia.

While it is probably true that some of the old people dislike and oppose the present system, all the others are practically unanimous in favor of it. Not only that, but they are willing to fight to the death to preserve the present system.

The standard of living in Russia is far below that in the United States, but one must remember that when the Bolsheviks took over the reins of government on November 7, 1917, at least ninety per cent of the Rus-

sian people were on about the same level that our slaves were at the end of our Civil War. The Russian people are now living on a standard considerably higher than are the American Negroes. That is, the Russians have advanced further since 1917 than our colored people have since 1865, and we know that our colored people have made remarkable progress. Then, too, the American Negroes had an advantage that the Russians did not have; they were living side by side with the whites, who had a very much higher standard of living. The Russians had no race or class to pattern after.

Because I have said so many good things about conditions in Russia, readers may get the impression that I found nothing bad there. That is not the case. I found a number of unsatisfactory conditions in Russia, the most important of which were as follows:

1. There was a definite lack of our particular brand of freedom.

2. There was a shortage of modern machinery and skilled labor.

3. There was a serious housing shortage. This was caused by the great destruction of buildings and cessation of building during World War I and the civil wars and interventions, by foreign powers, that followed that great war. This situation had been greatly aggravated by many people moving from the country to the cities.

4. There was a shortage of leather shoes. For many years less than one pair per person had been made each year. This was due to a shortage of leather which was in turn due to the great slaughter of cattle during the civil wars and the resulting famine, and also to some opposition to collective farming. Some of the peasants and many of the kulaks were opposed to collective farming, and resisted that idea to the last. Owing no doubt to a misunderstanding, a few of the peasants killed their cattle rather than release them to the collective farms. They seemed to be under the impression

that the government was taking their cattle away from them. (The production of leather shoes has lately been raised to a satisfactory level.)

5. The railroads and highways were in poor condition.

In London, a short time before the war, I heard a minister of the gospel tell a large audience that God would surely destroy the new Russian system. That statement probably was due to wishful thinking, but in any case if the new Russian system must be destroyed, a supernatural power will have to do the job; certainly man cannot do it.

When I was in Russia I felt convinced that no nation, or possible combination of nations, in the world, could overthrow the present Russian political-social-economic order. No exact information was available as to the strength of the Russian standing army, as the Russians, themselves, admitted they did not publish this information, but it was assumed in Europe, that Russia kept between 2,000,000 and 4,000,000 men under arms in peace-time, and at least 20,000,000 more in reserve who had had considerable military training, ready for service on short notice. That is, Russia probably could put 23,000,000 trained soldiers in the field without serious difficulty.

I saw in Moscow, on Red Square Day, a magnificent mass parade of about 1,500,000 people. Not all of these people were soldiers, nor did they all carry arms; some of them carried banners, but they were all under military discipline and certainly could have carried arms. There were at least 500 similar, but of course smaller, parades in Russia that same day.

It was generally believed in Europe that Russia had a very much stronger air force than any other country in the world.

Another thing which made the Russian hosts even more formidable, and which was alarming the enemies

of Russia, was that the European young men generally were strongly opposed to fighting the Russian people. The youth of Europe were insisting that Socialism be given a chance to see what it could do in Russia. Serious troubles, if not actual revolution, seemed inevitable in any country which made an unprovoked attack on Russia.

The Russian political-social-economic system is more stable than the American system. It cannot be damaged by action from within. That is beyond the bounds of possibility. The Russian people simply would not stand for it. Stalin and all of his aids could be murdered, but others would take their places, and no reactionary change would be made. The central idea of "no exploitation of human beings" is in Russia to stay.

I may be wrong, but it seems to me that any normal person who makes full use of his powers of observation while making an examination of conditions in Russia, must finally come to the conclusion that the Russians are on the right track. Anyway the general European opinion is that Socialism in Russia has passed the experimental stage, and that it is not only there to stay, but whether we like it or not it is certain to spread. This is also my opinion, and the opinion of about forty-nine of the fifty people who were with me in Russia. One thing that will cause it to spread is that foreigners who visit Russia for the sole purpose of discovering the facts, and have no interests to serve, except the truth, will bring out the truth which, in turn, will finally break down the wall of false propaganda that now surrounds Russia.

I found, in Russia, no reason to cause me to believe that civilization is in any danger, whatever, from the Russian system. Quite the contrary, I believe that civilization is making great headway against superstition and ignorance in Russia, and that sooner or later, the peoples of the world will realize that fact, and other

nations will be forced by the pressure of public opinion to adopt many of the ideas which are now in full force in Russia. As a matter of fact, several nations in Europe have already adopted some of the principles of the Russian system.

Unfortunately for America, not many Americans visited the Soviet Union during the "five-year-plan" period. If more had done so we would now have a more favorable opinion of the new political-social-economic system which the Soviets are developing. No doubt many Americans will go to Russia in the not distant future, and learn the truth at first hand. This will be of the greatest value to America, as it will serve to offset the damage done to American-Soviet relations by those American propagandists who hate Russia, and her new system.

CHAPTER II

GOVERNMENT

Russia, during recent years, has often been classed as a democracy like ours, but much more often as a cruel and permanent dictatorship. Neither idea is correct. Russia is not a democracy like ours, and I never found anybody in Moscow, or anywhere else in Russia for that matter, who contended that Russia's political system is like ours. For one thing, Russia does not have the three independent branches of government—legislative, executive, and judicial—which we consider essential features of modern democracies. She combines the legislative and executive branches into one. Considering these points only, it would seem that Russia while undoubtedly a republic, could not now be classed as a democracy like ours. However, Russia's social and economic system seems more democratic than ours.

It is true that the final aim of the Russian authorities is a classless society—a true democracy—where no exploitation of human beings is possible, but not even the most optimistic Communists I met in Russia saw any possibility of accomplishing this until after the great majority of the Russian people are well educated.

That is, the Russians, themselves, believe a true democracy is impossible without a high standard of general education. Something resembling the present system will be absolutely necessary for probably twenty-five years or so longer. After that time education will

be so advanced that a true democracy probably can be established.

The administration of Russia is in the hands of the Communist Party, an organization which probably contains somewhere around three per cent of the population. This Party, which functions like a civil service system, provides the leadership for the entire Soviet Union and through many thousands of councils, which contain many non-Party members, tries to meet the needs and desires of around 200,000,000 people, of at least 150 different national and racial groups; a colossal undertaking by any standard, it would certainly be futile without the consent and co-operation of the people. And it seems clear that not since 1917 have the people desired a change of administration.

The great majority of the members of the Russian Communist Party are under fifty years of age. The majority are probably under thirty-five years of age. The Party is not open to all who wish to join—far from it. It recruits the great majority, if not all, of its members from a youth organization called the Young Communists. Millions of young men and women, boys and girls are members of this organization. They enroll when fourteen years of age and receive special training; those who successfully complete the full course may become full fledged members of the Communist Party when they reach the age of eighteen. These Young Communists are all carefully selected from an organization of boys and girls called the Pioneers. Children enroll in this organization when ten years of age. Still another group of carefully selected younger children, called the Octoberists, furnish the recruits for the Pioneers. A child enters the Octoberist group at eight years of age. In short, a prospective member of the Communist Party receives, all told, at least ten years of continuous special training for his duties. It seems clear that the Communist Party of

Russia exercises great care in the selection and training of its future members. This system is working so well it probably will be continued for many years.

The level of intelligence of the Russian Communist Party taken as a whole is probably higher than that of any other political party in the world.

The Russian Government is not a dictatorship of ignorant people as is sometimes said. It is a government of intelligent, progressive-minded realists.

Obedience is—and always has been—a very important duty of the members of the Russian Communist Party. As a comparison, it may be stated that the degree of obedience demanded and obtained is just as near absolute as that demanded by the Jesuit Society. But lest we get upset by this, it is well to remember that all Party members had a long time to think this part over before they joined the Party. All members of the Russian Communist Party, from the highest to the lowest, are realists, and they all well know that they must be ready and willing to make sacrifices for mass improvement.

The Russian authorities contend that discipline is necessary because they are attacking man's oldest and worst enemies. They are fighting against ignorance, superstition, and fear and have no intention of ending the struggle until the Russian people have been freed from these powerful forces of enslavement.

The Russian political system does not hamper liberty or freedom, or the opportunity for doing good. And certainly there is absolutely no reason to believe that Socialism or the government has taken away any freedom from the Russian people. Quite the contrary, the Russians undoubtedly enjoy considerably more freedom now than they ever enjoyed under the Czar.

Although the Russian Communist Party was one of the communist parties which formed the Third International, a world wide organization of communists who

at one time or another probably believed that world Capitalism should be overthrown by force if necessary, it had ceased to concern itself with this idea long before the dissolution of the international organization in 1943. About 1927 it adopted a policy which held that the economic system of a country was a matter which should be left to the people of the country concerned. (No doubt, however, it hoped to make Russia such a model Socialist country that other countries would be favorably impressed by the example.)

There is no good evidence that anyone now in the Soviet government has ever been interested in overthrowing, changing, or disrupting in any way any foreign government or institution that was not openly hostile toward the Soviet Union. And not since at least as long ago as 1927 has any official in the government even suggested that any foreign nation adopt the Soviet system, or any part of that system.

.

CHAPTER III

COURTS

From 1917 to 1929, Russia's legal system was in a state of constant change. The present system was established in 1929.

The law courts of Russia are very much different from ours. With about fifteen or so other Americans, I visited the Moscow City Court during a trial. The court room was arranged similarly to one of ours, but with that single exception, everything was different from what one would expect to find in an American courtroom. The judge was sitting between two jurymen in one end of the room; the accused was standing about ten feet in front of the judge and facing him. Two lawyers were present, the prosecutor and the attorney for the defense. They were sitting about twenty feet apart, facing each other; one on the right of the accused, and the other on his left. These lawyers remained seated at all times, and usually asked their questions in low tones, and never raised their voices above the normal conversational tone. No dramatics of any kind tending to sway the court were ever used. No one but the witness ever stood up. The witness remained standing all the time he was giving testimony.

The case before the court was that of a young man who was accused of spending too much government money on decorations for the Red Square Day celebration. As part of his defense he stated that he thought he was well within the limit, and had no idea that

he had done anything wrong until he saw a criticism of his actions in the newspapers.

The chairman of the Moscow City Court told us that he had been a banker before the Revolution, and had sacrificed much for the Cause, but had been chairman of this court for the last fourteen years. He replied to many direct questions by us. Some of his replies are given here in full because they seem to be pertinent, and also because they seem to confirm the general European opinion concerning important points of the Russian legal system.

Among his many replies he said:

"There are four different courts in Russia, as follows: The People's Court, The City Court, The Supreme Court, and The Special Court.

"All pre-revolutionary laws have been scrapped, and new laws have been made to replace them. This was done because the old laws favored the rich in that the poor could not hire lawyers.

"Soviet law and court procedure are not based on any precedent. That is, previous court rulings, including, of course, Soviet court rulings, have no value whatever.

"Each case is tried on its merits only.

"All people are not the same before the Soviet law; a person's background counts for or against him. If a person has had a chance to know better, as in the case of a member of the former nobility, or other educated person, he receives less consideration than if he did not have that chance. (Members of the Russian Communist Party also get less consideration than non-Party members, because they are not only expected to know better, because of their special training, but also because they are expected to set a good example.)

"A court consists of a judge and two jurymen; all vote and the majority rules. (This is almost exactly like a summary court martial in the United States Navy.)

"Jurymen are elected by the people by secret ballot and serve one year.

"25,000 jurymen are elected every year. Forty-eight per cent of those elected this year were women, just two per cent short of the goal.

"When elected to a jury, the man or woman must study Soviet law for six months.

"All voters are eligible for election to jury duty.

"People's Court judges are elected by the people to serve for three years. They may be recalled by the people.

"Judges are usually well educated people, but a college education is not at all necessary. The newly elected judges take special courses, in advanced educational institutions, for their duties.

"At present, forty-three per cent of the People's Court judges are women. Fifty per cent is the goal.

"All cases may begin in the People's Court, and be sent on to the City Court or Supreme Court on appeals.

"Cases of a serious nature may be sent on to the City Court immediately. That is, the People's Court may decide not to hear certain cases at all.

"The Special Court is for counter-revolutionists, cases of assassination, and other high crimes. (This court is very similar to a General Court Martial in the United States Navy.)

"The defendant may hire a lawyer to defend him, or the court may assign one to him.

"There are lawyer organizations which supply lawyers; also trade unions have lawyers for use of their members, free.

"Each court has a public prosecutor.

"Any person over fourteen years of age may be tried by the courts.

"Investigation and trial of a case is limited to forty days.

"The legal system attempts to reform the criminal.

"Convicts are never sent to prison, but instead are sent to work on one of the great canals which are under construction, or to some other useful work best suited to them. They are usually allowed to choose the work they wish to perform.

"If a convict works well and his behavior is good, he is allowed certain privileges, and his sentence is reduced. For example, a five year sentence may be reduced to as little as eighteen months.

"Many convicts have been reformed and are now in the schools and universities of Russia."

The lawyer organizations mentioned above are supervised by the courts. Private practice by lawyers has been abolished in Russia.

During a trial, no spellbinding speeches, waving of arms, prancing about, shouting, or other actions tending to sway the courts by emotion are allowed. Facts only are allowed.

There is an investigating magistrate. His duties are similar to those of our justice of the peace.

A person sentenced to a year or less, works out his sentence in his own locality without a guard.

CHAPTER IV

FARMING

The rapid development of the rural districts of Russia is one of the principal features of the socialistic system. This development began under the severe handicap of considerable opposition from the farmers themselves. The farmers had little to do with the early stages of the Revolution. The factory workers in the large cities and the returned soldiers were the mainstays of the uprisings during the summer and fall of 1917, which resulted in the assumption of power by the Soviets.

From March 1917 to November 1917, the period between the abdication of the Czar and the establishment of the Soviet government of Russia, a provisional government headed by Kerensky, tried to establish some sort of order out of apparent chaos. There were many contending factions, and Kerensky endeavored to placate each, but he made the mistake of being too conservative. Extreme Leftism was in the air. The masses had suffered long enough; they not only wanted freedom and bread and land, but they wanted revenge. This was the period when Grand Dukes were thrown into wells and the rich were butchered simply because they were rich. In many cases, the nobles and the other rich were paying for crimes which were committed by their grandfathers. It was during this period of great disorder that the peasants took advantage of the situation, and killed or drove off their landlords and seized the

land. The Soviet leaders had little part in this activity and were not especially interested in it at the time. Even if they had been vitally interested in it, they would not have been able to do much about it; they certainly had no power to prevent it. The Bolsheviks, during that period, were fully occupied in their attempts to seize power in the larger cities, especially in Moscow and Leningrad, where the main part of their forces was concentrated. The Russian revolution was industrial, and not agrarian as was the Mexican revolution. The land seizure by the peasants caused the authorities a great deal of trouble later on when they started to establish collective and state farms. The authorities did not do much toward collectivising the farms until about 1927; by that time the peasants had entrenched themselves so deeply on the land which they had appropriated that they strongly objected to being moved; they, naturally enough, did not want to give up the land that they had taken from their former masters. Also, the great majority of the farmers were—and always had been—considerably less than enthusiastic concerning socialistic ideas, and the process of winning them over to the new system has been somewhat slow. The farmers generally were opposed to any change, and they offered stubborn resistance to modern farm machinery or modern methods of any kind, for that matter. For centuries they had paid their priests to pray for rain when their crops needed water, and had swung over their fields holy incense burners containing specially blessed incense—which they bought from their priests—when their crops needed attention. Quite naturally, they were skeptical about irrigation dams and gasoline operated cultivators. Anyone with the remotest acquaintance with modern science knows, of course, that an intelligence which believes that the former methods are superior to the new, is certainly a low one; an intelligence which would hardly reflect

credit on our antediluvian ancestors, but that was the intelligence the Soviet leaders were confronted with. They knew, of course, that the older, and less intelligent, farmers would never change, and they wasted no time trying to convert them. They concentrated their efforts on the young.

Before the Revolution, religion and farming were so inextricably entwined that scientific farming was simply out of the question. For example, the principal method of irrigating crops in Russia, during Czarist days, was to pay the priests to pray for rain. A light shower could be had for a handful of kopeks, but if you wanted a gully washer it would run into money, probably several hundred roubles. The overwhelming majority of the farmers firmly believed that the priests actually had the power to produce rain, and anyone who tried to convince them of their error was looked upon as a sinful idiot. Therefore, before modern scientific methods of farming could be introduced into Russia, it was necessary to discredit the priests as reliable rain producers. This the authorities proceeded to do just as soon as the counter-revolutionary movements had been put down and the interventionists had been driven out of Russia.

One, and perhaps the best, method that the authorities used to discredit the priests' rain-producing abilities, was to set aside, in areas where the priests' influence was the strongest, small plots of farm land for the priests to cultivate and pray over, and similar plots of farm land for atheists to cultivate by scientific methods without asking God for any assistance. The object was to determine which method was the most effective. The priests, the great majority of whom were grossly ignorant but devout people, seemed to have accepted the challenge, with alacrity; they swallowed hook, line, and sinker so to speak, and eagerly seized what they thought was a golden opportunity to convince the farm-

ers of their influence with God. The priests prayed, chanted, made signs, and did everything else over their plots of ground that they could possibly think of, to attract God's attention to their need for assistance, night and day for several months, hoping to produce, by a miracle, or a series of miracles, bumper crops which would thoroughly discredit the authorities, and re-establish the prestige of the priests. The result, of course, was that the atheists raised infinitely better crops than the priests did. This one demonstration is said to have done more to discredit the priests than any other one thing the Bolsheviks' fertile minds have thought of. It dumbfounded the farmers, of course, and produced many backsliders among them. It is said that even some of the priests became somewhat doubtful of their influence with God. Competition of this kind is fast dying out in Russia because the priests have lost interest in it.

Several incidents are related in connection with the foregoing which border on humor—or pathos. It is said, for example, that on one occasion, just when the priests were praying the loudest, before a large group of interested farmers who had gathered to watch the production of a miracle, and were getting not a drop of rain, a regular cloud-burst fell on a nearby atheist plot.

At present there are three different kinds of farms in Russia: private, collective and state. Finally, according to the present program, there will be only two kinds, private and state. The private farm is not really a farm. It is hardly more than a home and garden plot. It usually consists of from three to six acres. Its size depends upon several factors, but primarily upon the richness of the soil and the location. It is just large enough for a house, outbuildings, garden, and some fruit trees and vines, and land enough to keep one cow and her calf, some hogs, chickens and other small domestic animals, but no horses or other draft animals.

These farms are owned outright by farm families, but they are not allowed to sell or otherwise dispose of them. They can, however, will them to their heirs. Taxes are paid on these farms just as is done in the United States. An income tax is also paid on the profits from the sale of products of these farms. It is interesting to note that these farms constitute most of the privately owned land and buildings in Russia.

The private farmers may—and in nearly all cases do—work on collective farms or state farms in addition to their own. The Soviet leaders obviously favor this procedure, and it is doubtful if anyone in Russia has any serious doubts concerning the merits of the idea. The private farmer is supposed to earn his living by working seven hours per day on a collective farm or state farm. In his spare time he may, if he chooses, add to his income by cultivating his small private farm. This, however, is not at all necessary as his income from his work on one of the other farms is sufficient for his needs. These private farmers, many of whom I saw, had not been much better off than slaves for many generations. No doubt the majority of them, who possibly were as bad off as the American slaves were before the Civil War, had always longed for homes of their own. Now they actually own their own homes, and they cannot lose them by foreclosures or by any other method, as far as I could discover. Certainly most of these farmers—especially the younger ones—are thankful for the great change that has been brought about. This circumstance is said to have a great stabilizing influence on rural Russia.

The collective farm is the first stage in the development of the state farm. It is owned by a group of farmers or rented from the government at a definite rental, and not on a percentage basis as has so often been stated. The farmers own all the machinery, stock, and crops and sell about ten per cent of the produce to

the government at a price fixed by the government, and the remainder on the open market. Each worker on a collective farm receives a basic wage in produce called a "norm." At the end of the year, the remaining produce, if any, or its equivalent in cash is divided among the workers. I visited a relatively small collective farm near Moscow which contained a little over 2,500 acres and had 241 families living and working on it. The principal crops were Irish potatoes and cucumbers. The manager of this farm told me that the "norm" there was sixty pounds of Irish potatoes per day. Collective farms are insured against crop failures.

The government is gradually converting the collective farms into state farms. The state farm is the final stage where everything is owned outright by the government; and all hands, including the manager, are paid regular wages and the government takes all the profits. Probably about ten per cent of the farms are now state farms. Much propaganda—mostly false—has been spread of late by the enemies of Russia, concerning famines in Russia under the socialistic system; so much so that sight has almost been lost of the fact that during the last 200 years of the Czarist regime, a famine of very serious proportions occurred on an average of about every four years. That is, in 200 years Russia, under the Czar, had fifty years of famine.

.

CHAPTER V

RELIGION

A great deal has been said in this country about Church and religious persecution in Russia. For that reason I gave that phase of the Russian system particular attention during my visit to that country.

Before visiting Russia I made up my mind not to get caught near a church; I did not want to get shot or thrown into some dark, dismal dungeon. I thought, of course, that all churches were closed, and heavily guarded by soldiers or police to prevent the poor down-trodden Russian masses we hear so much about from worshipping God.

After I had been in Russia a few days, I became considerably bolder and went to the American Embassy, where I asked an attache if any churches were still open in Moscow, and if so would he assist me in my effort to attend services in one of them? I thought that I certainly would need an escort of guards and a pass from the Kremlin, or perhaps even a disguise so that I, on some dark night, could attend services in some dimly lighted cellar where a small band of harassed and persecuted Christians were keeping the faith just as they did in the catacombs of pagan Rome in the early days of Christianity. I felt that I was taking a desperate chance, but thought it was well worth the risk. I had had a number of interesting and unusual experiences in my life, not the least of which was being present in thirteen different wars, revolutions, insurrections,

etc., in which I might easily have been killed, but certainly nothing so extraordinary as attending religious services in Moscow, the very center of the great religious persecution movement.

I mention all this only to show how little I knew Russia before I visited that country. I had done considerable traveling in at least thirty-five countries before I visited Russia; therefore, no one could have rightly accused me of lacking experience. This incident deeply impressed me as to the power of propaganda—especially false propaganda. It is depressing to think how easy it is to fool people into believing utter nonsense.

The attache smiled weakly when he heard my request. He probably had heard the same request hundreds of times before from deluded Americans, who had been constantly fed on false reports from Russia for nearly twenty years. He was kind to me, however; he merely indicated that I had a lot to learn. He seemed to be entirely opposed to every part of the Russian system, as have been all the other members of our State Department with whom I have discussed the subject, but he told me that there were many churches operating in Moscow, as well as everywhere else in Russia, and that I would be in absolutely no danger if I visited them. He indicated that there were some restrictions of a political nature on priests, and other ministers of the gospel, but could not seem to recall anything that could be classed as religious or Church persecution.

I finally attended services in two churches. In one a christening was in progress. The baby, who seemed to be about two months old, was evidently a Bolshevik as he did not seem to approve of the proceedings. Anyway he was registering displeasure. I made a grave mistake in this church; I sat down when I was evidently supposed to stand up. The priest, who did not seem to like my looks, singled me out for special attention. He, in no uncertain terms, ordered me to get up, which I

did with such alacrity that it disturbed the equilibrium of the worshippers in my immediate vicinity. I did not know what the priest said to me, as I did not understand his language, but I knew quite well what he meant; nobody could have misunderstood him. He probably wanted to impress me with the fact that he had some power left—power enough to move me at any rate. He did.

The other church I visited was large and was packed full of people, probably at least 2,000. All were standing as there were no seats. Nearly all of these people were old, probably between fifty and eighty years of age; and had never joined the Revolution, and also had not changed with the times. They were so steeped in priest-encouraged superstition and ignorance, and so firmly under the spell of the priests, that they, of course, would never change. These people were not in favor of Socialism; in fact, the great majority of them were entirely opposed to Socialism but the Soviet Government did not harass them or molest them in any way, but on the other hand wasted no time in trying to convert them to the new order of things. There are still a few millions of these old people in Russia. They are called "Czarist Russians." They still believe in the Czar, and his former accomplices. These are the people who the die-hard enemies of Russia would have us believe will lead the revolt against Socialism. There were several priests in the pulpit of this church. All seemed to be preaching at the same time. This, coupled with the shouts—hallelujahs, or something—from the congregation produced a truly magnificent bedlam. It reminded me of one of our deeply emotional southern religious meetings, but, of course, the volume of sound was infinitely greater than anything we Americans ever experience.

Russian church congregations, so I understand, have never been a success from an olfactory standpoint; any-

way this meeting was a decidedly malodorous affair. About forty old beggar men were loitering near the church doors, asking alms, bowing and scraping and cringing, as they did when the Czar was in power. The sight was positively revolting. The authorities do not permit begging anywhere in Russia—except near church doors. They allow this time honored custom there because of its anti-priesthood propaganda value. Priests in their gold and silver crowns, and their beautiful rich robes and other trappings, and gold and silver church ornaments worth a king's ransom, side by side with old beggars in their rags and tatters; a truly incongruous spectacle. It would turn almost any thinking person against the former priesthood. The authorities know this, of course. They show the young, especially the school children, all that takes place in or near churches. They are very anxious to keep at least a few of the churches operating so that they can point out to the young what sort of place the Church sponsored when the Czar was in power—a sort of object lesson, so to speak, something to guard against.

It seems that the struggle against the priests was confined to political, social and economic grounds rather than on religious grounds. The authorities do not seem to be concerned with religion except when it interferes with man's basic needs—those of freedom from want and fear.

The Soviet leaders do not persecute religion or the Church, or even the priests. They carefully avoid that sort of thing. They contend that the Church has always thrived on persecution. They are using a different method to eliminate the abuses of the Russian priesthood; they are giving the priests the opportunity to discredit themselves. This the priests do by expounding nonsense in an enlightened country.

The youth of Russia have long since lost faith and interest in the Church. I saw all told, in both churches

that I visited, only about twenty people under eighteen years of age.

If Jesus were on earth today and were teaching in Russia, I do not believe that the Russian government would find any fault whatever with His teachings or methods of procedure. In fact, many of the leaders in Russia accept the teachings of Jesus; especially those teachings concerning the Golden Rule. Some of them apparently consider Jesus the first real Socialist who was helping the poor, downtrodden masses, and was put out of the way by the rotten, selfish, and cruel priesthood of the day because He was exposing their evil ways.

From information which I obtained in Moscow, and which I have every reason to believe is reliable, the young people of Russia are almost totally unconcerned about such controversial religious subjects as the prospects of a life after death. And certainly practically none of them believe in a Hell or any such thing as torment or suffering of any kind after death. The very worst that could be rightly said about them from a religious standpoint is that many of them are agnostics.

The young Russians now simply refuse to worry about gods and devils, heavens and hells, angels, imps, etc. They firmly believe that the former priesthood of Russia was nothing but a set of cruel grafters who were living on the fat of the land by keeping the poor people in ignorance and fooling them. The priests had great power, and even had control of the public school system. The education which the young people received in the priest-controlled schools of Russia seems to be an excellent argument in favor of keeping religion out of public schools the world over. The Bolsheviks insist that the Russian student, under the old system, was lucky if he ever learned to read and write well, but he learned all about how prayers brought rain, and how other miracles were produced by the priests, when they, the

priests, received a cash consideration from those who wanted and needed miracles performed. Cash always played an important part in the miracle producing business. The God whom the former Russian priests dealt with always seemed to demand a lot of money for his blessings. The greater the blessing, the greater the amount of money demanded. For example, prayers to cure a sore thumb would not cost nearly as much as prayers to cure a broken leg. On top of all this nonsense, the priests used to keep the thought of an everlasting Hell fire before the student as a warning to obey the priests under any and all conditions, otherwise God would torture him in the hereafter.

It seems that the priests took great pains to tell the children, and young people generally, that they would burn in Hell for all eternity if they did not comply with certain rules laid down by the priests. The authorities have changed all this. It is now a very serious offense for a priest to frighten a little child in this way unless the child insists on going to church to hear him. For the first offense the priest may be sentenced to from three to five years on a canal-digging job, and to a longer term for a second offense. One sentence to canal-digging, however, is usually sufficient to convince even the most unrepentant priest of the desirability of obeying the law.

Apparently the whole religious system of Russia, under the Czar, was based entirely on fear of the hereafter. The Bolsheviki claim that this was bad for the nervous systems of the people. They are now doing everything possible to eradicate this "fear of a hereafter" idea from the minds of the younger citizens, especially the children. Except inside churches, priests are forbidden by law to frighten little children with tales of horrible tortures by a just and loving God. The Russian authorities are very strict on this point. They claim that this sort of teaching does not make sense, and that it

is not only entirely unnecessary, but is very harmful for the child, and especially so if the child is high strung or nervous, or is a borderline case. They point out that insanity and nervous diseases have been greatly reduced in Russia since they stopped the priests from frightening the children. The authorities insist that *fear* of a hereafter must never again be instilled into innocent little hearts. Incidentally, this is one of the principal reasons why we are taught to hate the Russians; we are taught that this is religious persecution!

Shortly after the Bolsheviks seized power, they, in perhaps one of their lighter moments, abolished Hell. The priests, as was to be expected, objected to this, what they considered unwarranted assumption of power, but the Bolsheviks pointed out that the Church and the Czar had issued a lot of vexatious Bulls and Ukases when they were running things, so now they, the Bolsheviks, would issue a few.

I spent about half a day in the great Anti-Religious Museum in Moscow. Now there is something eery about the very words "anti-religious" which is decidedly upsetting to most normal human beings. Man has been fearing God, or at least the gods, for untold ages. Fear of God is as indigenous to him as tobacco is to Virginia; it is part and parcel of his very existence. According to the Bolsheviks—and various other liberal thinkers—this fear of God idea probably originated soon after man came down out of the trees and lost his tail; it certainly originated just as soon as one man began to use his wits, instead of his muscles, to gain his living. They contend that the witch doctor, or medicine man as he is sometimes called, who first got a commission from God to regulate the affairs of men, probably was the first to establish a profession on this earth.

Many authorities say that the witch doctors originated the idea that God would punish human beings who did not obey without question, any and all orders

of the witch doctors. When some calamity such as an earthquake overcame the tribe, or when lightning struck nearby, or when a stone, loosened from its place by the elements, rolled down the mountain side, or even when a rotten limb fell off a tree, the witch doctors would explain to the people that they were not doing right and God was angry. The witch doctors would then take pains to explain that as they were God's emissaries on earth, and were in close communication with God, they would—for a consideration—intercede with God in the people's behalf. Skeptics may doubt this, but the Bolsheviks seem to have good evidence to support the contention that this condition has existed for untold ages, and that it still flourishes in a thinly disguised form nearly all over the world. They believe that the most flagrant use of this ancient superstition is now to be found in India. That country is still a paradise for the witch doctors.

Incredible as it is, even today in America, whenever some calamity such as an earthquake, flood, drought, depression, or what have you, befalls us many ministers of the gospel arise to explain to their congregations that God is punishing the people for their sinful ways. . . . Quackery thousands of years old, of course, but we believe it just as our ancestors did ages before history began.

It is quite clear that the ancient witch doctors also worked out a system whereby those who did their bidding, and kept them well fed, clothed, and housed, were rewarded—after they, those who did the donating, were dead.

When Egyptian history begins we find the priests, the successors to the pre-historic witch doctors, in full control of the situation. In fact, they had better control over the affairs of men than any of their successors have ever had since then, although the Popes of the Middle Ages and the present Hindu priests run them a

close second. The Egyptian priests had worked out an elaborate system which kept even the great kings at their wits' ends with the fear of God. Nearly every one of the great ancient ruins, that are to be seen in Egypt today, was built because of the fear of God.

Considering the foregoing, I am not at all ashamed to confess that I was somewhat skittish about entering the Moscow Anti-Religious Museum; an institution which is said to be operated by atheists for the sole purpose of persecuting religion. I felt as though I were calling on the Devil himself, and that God might strike me dead, or blind—or something. I greatly desired company for my adventure into this stronghold of blasphemy, but the other Americans with our party shunned the place as though it were quarantined for smallpox or the bubonic plague. Try as I would I could not get one of them near it. In fact, out of our entire party of about fifty people, I doubt if more than ten or twelve ever went into the place. My inquisitive nature, however, finally overcame my better judgment, and I summoned up enough courage to enter. After the first shock of entering had passed away, I felt better and was soon at ease. The place is misnamed. There is nothing shocking about it. A science museum would be a much better name for it. Anyone interested in religion, and especially how it was practiced in Russia under the Czar, would be well repaid for a visit to that museum. I believe that society would be measurably benefited if all ministers of the gospel, and all divinity students, would spend a week or so in that museum, and then write and publish articles on what they saw there.

The Anti-Religious Museum building is an old monastery from which the priests and monks shot down the workers during the early days of the Revolution. According to my Bolshevik guide, the priests had told their followers that God would strike down the work-

ers if they passed the monastery. After many people had been killed by rifle fire from the upper stories of the monastery, the Bolsheviks suspected that God was receiving assistance from earthly allies. The monastery, therefore, was stormed and taken, and found to be virtually an arsenal manned by priests, monks, etc. Now, many of the tricks used by the priests to fool the people are being exposed there to the general public. Some of the tricks were very ingenious. For example, I saw a large picture of Mother Mary which used to weep when the collection plate was not filled full enough. My Bolshevik guide, who happened to be an atheist, asked me if I would like to see him perform a miracle. I, naturally, was interested, but I seriously doubted his ability to perform one. Miracles, I reasoned, are generally associated with gods, angels, or at least with saintly persons—and certainly not with atheists. Even the very suggestion seemed sacrilegious to me, but my guide insisted that I should watch the Madonna's eyes very closely for tear drops. I did and soon saw what certainly appeared to be tears forming in her eyes. The tears then ran down her cheeks in such a perfectly natural manner that any unsuspecting person would have readily believed that he was actually witnessing a miracle. The tears were real enough to satisfy all but the most incredulous. The demonstration was positively uncanny, but finally the guide spoilt everything by taking me around behind the painting and showing me how the priests formerly performed the "miracle" by using an eye dropper. Another exhibit which my guide explained to me in some detail was a magnificent coffin containing the long dead body of a bishop or some other high church dignitary, which under the old regime was opened once a year, at a great festival, for inspection by the Czar, himself. The Czar would make a careful inspection of the body in the coffin and then immediately announce to a devout congregation,

that the body had not only not mortified, but was still just exactly as it was when it died several hundred years ago. The object of this colossal deception was to convince the people that miracles were still being performed. Nobody doubted the Czar, of course, as he was the head of the Russian church. Similar coffins were opened in the presence of governors and high church dignitaries throughout Russia, on the same day that this one was opened. The result was always the same. The bodies were always found in a perfect state of preservation, and the people were suitably impressed. The skeptical Bolsheviks opened all of these coffins and exposed the true state of affairs to the people soon after they seized power—the coffins contained only bones. The museum contains a collection of similar objects which were used in connection with religion as it was formerly practiced in Russia. They are explained by guides to any who wish to know about them.

The museum contains a long gallery with wall pictures on each side; one side showing the Bible story of creation, and the other side the science theory. The Darwin theory of the descent of man is also explained by pictures. Nowhere in the museum is religion held up to scorn or ridicule. The object of the museum, so my guide stated, is to explain man's age-old longing for information as to where he came from and where he is going when he dies, and how the clever priests took advantage of this longing, to enslave him. The whole exhibit is very interesting and instructive. But the principal thing that I got out of my visit was a feeling that there is certainly no such place as Hell. In my opinion, most educated persons who visit this museum will leave with the feeling that it has rendered a desirable service to Russia.

The Anti-Religious Museum is replete with evidence that there is not the slightest reason for anyone to fear death or to believe that there is torture for condemned

sinners in the hereafter. The exhibits clearly demonstrate that Hell is an invention of human beings. The highly educated Bolshevik guides who show one around in the museum, explain through exhibits that Hell as an undesirable place of abode was invented thousands of years before the Christian era, by the ancient witch doctors who found it necessary to have an unpleasant place to send doubters to when they died; doubters who would not do exactly what the witch doctors told them to do, but seemed to get along just as well as those who obeyed the witch doctors' orders. The early Christian priests decided that the ancient Hell was not anywhere near horrible enough to suit their needs. They, therefore, set about to make Hell considerably more terrifying. The results of their labors testify to the thoroughness with which they did their job. Hell now, thanks to the "followers" of the Lord Jesus, who taught love and kindness, is a place of horrible tortures where He, the Lord Jesus, sitting in judgment, will send untold millions of human beings who have not done exactly what His emissaries—the priests—told them to do!

Americans, generally, except the more conservative Catholics, Lutherans, and other fundamentalist groups, have a rather hazy idea of Hell, but Europeans, who consider the subject at all know a lot about it. There are several related ideas as to exactly what sort of place Hell is, but the great majority of the experts on Hell and hells insist that it is a great lake of fire which is at least a million times as hot as any ever known on earth, which is now burning, and will burn forever. All sinners—those who have not done exactly what the priests told them to do—are thrown into this lake, but due to the suspension of one of the laws of physics, they are not burned up as would normally be expected by being thrown into such a hot fire. They, instead, are roasted continuously. . . . They are to be roasted for billions and billions and billions of years; in fact, for-

ever, in this terrible lake of fire for some sin that they committed during their short stay on this earth. It seems that the sinners, while suffering horrible tortures, occasionally reach the edge of the lake and try to climb out. They, however, are always met by small devils with red hot pitch forks, who prod them back into the lake. The only reason why they are even allowed to reach the edge of the lake is to tantalize them by allowing them to believe that there is a possibility of escaping to a cooler spot, then finally dashing their hopes. This is merely an additional, but none the less, exquisite torture; a torture of the mind. It seems clear that the inmates of Hell lead a very undesirable existence.

According to those who are paid to tell us the facts about this matter, a just and loving God, who has power to do anything He chooses, and is so interested in living creatures that He observes—presumably with sadness—the fall of a sparrow; who so loved mankind that He made human beings in His own image, condemns His children to such a horrible place as Hell. The Bolsheviks reject this idea altogether with the flat statement that a sane human being would not do this to his worst enemy. And it is reasonable to believe that if God has the power to do anything He chooses, and loves His children, He certainly has made them incapable of ever doing anything which would send them to such a horrible place as the Christian Hell; that He would never under any circumstances permit any of His children to be condemned to such a place as the Hell of any of the “wrathful God” religions.

The Bolsheviks point out that Hell as a place of horrible tortures was invented by the early Christian priests in order to keep the early Christians contented with their sad lot; it was a place for the pagan Romans to go when they died. None of the Christians were supposed to go there. The early Christians, during a period of about 300 years, or until Constantine was converted,

were slaves, or at least were certainly not much better off than slaves, but their priests told them that their masters, the pagan Romans, would all surely suffer in Hell, while they enjoyed themselves in Heaven. This teaching served to keep the Christians contented. The Romans, when they finally learned what was being taught, fostered the idea and adopted it as an excellent device for keeping the poor contented. That is, they agreed that "We have everything now and you have nothing, but you will be rewarded—after you are dead—and we will have to suffer." Anyone will have to admit that the general idea is an excellent one for the rich, and upper classes generally, to foster as a means of keeping the masses contented. All students of history agree that the Romans were a practical people; they would naturally have quickly made use of such a clever idea. The Russians contend that this same idea is being fostered today everywhere in the world except in the Soviet Union; an almost incredible commentary on the general level of human intelligence.

I saw in the Tretyakov Art Gallery in Moscow, a large religious painting, which had been removed from a church. It showed our Lord Jesus, Mother Mary, several of the Apostles, and other chosen persons, sitting in Heaven, watching—evidently with enjoyment—the tortures of human beings in Hell.

Many thinkers contend that this Hell business has driven millions of people insane; that more people have lost their minds over worrying about going to Hell when they die than all other causes combined.

According to the Russian authorities, anyone who for any reason uses Hell as a means of frightening a little child is a criminal; a most despicable criminal, as it may cause the child to lose his mind.

It should be observed in passing that with the exception of the Roman Catholics, very few, if any, thinking people in Europe, especially the younger people, believe

in any sort of hell nowadays, and that the number is rapidly decreasing. Also it should be observed that the Church of England does not now teach, or believe in, any sort of hell or torture in the hereafter. Even the Roman Catholics, certainly those in France, have little to worry about as regards Hell. At least ninety-nine and one-half per cent of them finally go to Heaven. The great majority of them, true enough, are required to spend some time in purgatory, but what of it? The end is the same; they sooner or later ascend to heaven.

All monasteries, nunneries, churches, as well as all other buildings in Russia, were theoretically confiscated by the government when the Bolsheviks seized power. Actually this rule has not been rigidly enforced for many reasons, but principally because of practical considerations. Russia is a very large country and the means of communication are still not any too good, also there are many races and nationalities to placate and convince. The exact status, therefore, of each and every church in Russia is, in all likelihood, not the same. In any case the status of all the churches is certainly not clear—not even to the people themselves. Probably the government has special rules for special cases, but in general it seems that certainly in the great majority of cases, when a religious group desires a church in which to hold services, the government rents a church to the group concerned at a definite rental. The rent asked depends upon the assessed value of the church. The building, the location, the land, the ornaments and all permanent fixtures are taken into consideration in making the assessment. Under this system it is quite natural that expensive and richly ornamented churches are going out of style.

The movable fixtures of a church such as books, communion utensils, regalia, and other paraphernalia of every kind, necessary for holding church services, are the property of the church congregation, and not of the

priests as formerly. In fact, priests are not allowed to have possession of any church property or paraphernalia.

Churches for which there is no demand are either torn down to make way for modern improvements, or are used for hospitals, schools, museums, libraries, dwellings, or other useful purposes.

Many churches in Russia have been converted to other uses or destroyed, but there are still more than enough churches to accommodate all those who wish to attend services. The principal reason for this is that under the system now in force in Russia, churches may be, and quite often are, operated every day of the year instead of only one day in seven as formerly. The authorities could not see any good reason why very valuable buildings, such as a great many of the churches of Russia were, should be closed six days out of seven. (For a few years the Soviets tried out a six day week, thirty day month, calender which did not contain names of days, therefore, there were then no Sundays in Russia but each day of the week was a rest day for about one-sixth of the population.) Another reason why there are still enough churches to accommodate everybody is that the young are no longer attending church. Still another, and one of the best reasons for ample church accommodations, is that during Czarist days there were a great many more churches in Russia than there was any need for. The same condition exists all over Europe today; especially in Italy, England, France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia, in the order named.

Some people, mostly men, but I dare say some women, in the United States, and other countries, go to church for political, or other non-religious reasons; for the prestige it brings them. No prestige whatever is gained by attending church in Russia. The contrary probably would be true. Church attendance, therefore, is naturally smaller, and the priests know that they have

devout audiences. In other words, religion in Russia is for those who want it, and a devout believer does not have to make room in church for a hypocrite.

Priests in Russia are not allowed to tax members of the church as they formerly did. All offerings for the support of the Church and the priests must be strictly voluntary, the same as they are in the United States and other countries where the Church and State are more or less separated. Church offerings in Russia are taxed by the State. The largest number of silver coins I ever saw on a collection plate was in a church in Soviet Russia and the largest congregation I ever saw in any church was also in that country.

In the United States the Church and State are separated, but Russia has gone several steps farther. In that country the Church has been separated from politics, economics, sociology, public education, and in fact everything except religion. Priests, and other ministers of the gospel, must stick to theology, and not branch out into other fields. They must shun everything except ways and means of getting to Heaven and keeping out of Hell, if they wish to avoid unpleasant entanglements with the law.

Priests are not allowed to mention anything concerning religion to children—other than their own—at any place except inside a church. Parents may teach religion to their children at any and all times, but they may not send their children to church against the children's wishes after the children start to public school. That is, a child may not be forced to go to church after he is about seven or eight years of age. The child may attend church if he wishes, but he usually goes to a children's club instead. In the immediate vicinity of most of the churches, the Russian leaders have established club houses for children where games are played and ice cream, cake, candy, and soft drinks may be had free. By a remarkable "coincidence," these clubs

are open at exactly the same time that the churches are open. The eight year old child has to make a decision as to which place to go, whether to go to a place which smells to high heaven, and where his companions will be people whose average age is about 60 years, or to go to the other place where practically all of his friends and schoolmates are to be found. The decision is not difficult to make. The authorities are protecting the children in a quiet manner, from enforced religious dogma.

No religious instruction of any kind is allowed in public or private schools, except in certain private schools in which religion only is taught.

Persons over eighteen years of age may study religion in divinity schools for the purpose of preparing for the priesthood, but these schools are not allowed to teach any subject except religion.

Priests, and other ministers of the gospel, are not allowed to hold office in public schools. Until some years ago they were not allowed to vote, but the new enlightened and quite democratic Constitution grants them that privilege.

One could contend, I suppose, that there is religious persecution in Russia, but the answer depends upon the definition of the word persecution. Personally, I do not believe that there is any actual religious persecution in Russia for the simple reason that the authorities are far too intelligent for that sort of thing.

The authorities believe that religion as practiced in at least nearly all countries, is a tool in the hands of the ruling classes, which is used through the priesthood, to keep the masses in economic slavery. They, the authorities, would like to change certain religious practices which they consider bad. They hope to do this by educating the masses. (The Russians never did go about burning down churches and killing priests, monks, nuns, etc., as was generally supposed, but instead, taught

anti-priest education in a cold scientific manner in schools and colleges.) For example, children are taught that there are natural causes for everything, and that so far as can be proved, no miracles happen, or ever happened; that prayers for rain, or for anything else for that matter, are useless and unwise and except as an emotional escape, have no effect on mankind. The authorities contend that they are forced to teach anti-priest education in order to counteract priest-encouraged superstition.

It seems that in Czarist days, the Russian priests pretended to do many good things for the poor people through prayer. They prayed for rain for the crops. They prayed for good weather so that the crops could be harvested. They sold small pieces of specially blessed wood, which when worn under the hat would cure headaches. The priests collected rather stiff fees for these good deeds. Should the rain not come or the headache continue, the benighted peasant was advised that his soul was not in good shape, and, therefore, additional prayers—and fees—would be necessary.

The authorities believe that if they can educate the young, and banish superstition and fear of a hereafter from the minds of the people, the priest class will decrease. This is one of the reasons why they are making such a prodigious effort towards education—especially primary and secondary school education.

Ever since 1917 ministers of the gospel and other religious leaders in Europe and elsewhere, have been telling their congregations that God will soon surely destroy the Russian Communists. The Communists are now turning this circumstance to their advantage. They point out to the people the obvious fact that they not only have not been destroyed, but instead are becoming stronger as time passes, therefore, they argue that apparently the religious leaders are in error. The net result is that many Europeans, other than Russians,

are becoming somewhat skeptical of some of the declarations and pronouncements of their religious leaders.

The ministers surely made a bad mistake in predicting the Communists' fall—the wish was probably the father to the thought—and it has certainly caused the Church to lose more ground in Europe; a region where its foundations are none too secure. If the ministers are lucky enough to extricate themselves from their embarrassing predicament, they will probably confine their future prognostications to subjects which need no confirming action by a supernatural being.

I was unable to find anyone in Europe who was shedding any tears over the sad plight of the former Russian priesthood. It seems that the general opinion is that the priests—by their cruel treatment of the poor when they had political power—brought their troubles upon themselves. The best that I ever heard said for them was that many of them were grossly ignorant and were not aware of the fact that they were simply dupes being used by the rich; that they were merely tools—willing tools although they were—in the hands of the clever charlatans who were in control of the Church, and operated it as a collection agency to make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

Because the Church in Europe has been denouncing the Communists so violently for such a long time, it is now fast falling into disrepute. The Church is not making many converts in Europe now. In fact it is losing many more members than it is gaining. This is especially so in Germany, France, and Italy in the order named. The English people too are losing interest in organized religion—especially religion of the heaven and hell type. The trouble is just this: The young people of Europe are beginning to have grave doubts about a God who so bitterly hates the Communists that He intends to destroy them when some auspicious moment arrives, as priests, and other ministers of the gos-

pel, have so loudly been proclaiming ever since the Soviets assumed control of Russia. The young people could hardly be expected to worship such a God; anyway they, as a class, are not doing so. Worse than that, they are almost in open revolt against the Church and organized dogmatic religion generally.

It is interesting to note in this connection that while the Fascists hate the Soviets in a most bitter and uncompromising manner, they sometimes attempt to curry favor with the masses by employing some of the tactics which the Soviet leaders use to discredit certain questionable political, social and economic Church practices. They quite often do something to annoy or embarrass the Church, such as to point out to the masses that the Church is rich while the people are poor; that the priests are fat while the people are lean.

CHAPTER VI

ENTHUSIASM

We are often told in this country, that the Russian people are so securely held under the cruel yoke of oppression that they are forced slavishly to cheer and applaud at such times as their masters wish, and that their applause is never spontaneous. That myth—and myth it surely is—has been entirely and completely exploded as far as I am concerned. The Russians certainly do give vent to their emotions in a spontaneous manner. It is quite true that the Russian people are keyed up to a high pitch, and that they react to certain forms of propaganda, just as we do during war. But this is because ever since 1917 they have considered themselves at war; on the firing line in the fight against the evils which beset mankind.

I was present in Russia on many occasions when applause was certainly spontaneous. One occasion was as follows: Soon after I arrived in Moscow, and before the fear of the "bloodthirsty Russians," that I had heard so much about, had entirely left me, I attended a silent movie in a large theatre, which was packed full of people, all Russians, except for a handful of foreigners, who were seated more or less together in the middle orchestra circle. The picture turned out to be one of those propaganda films, with which Russia was then flooded. It was rather long, and the film would break every fifteen minutes or so. Also, the movie machine gave evidences of the need of a general over-

hauling. The plot was the typical story of how the workers overthrew the capitalists. The reactions of the Russian audience to the high points of the story were interesting to observe. There were bursts of applause at each point gained by the workers, and hisses whenever the capitalists got in a lick or two. When the Communist hero brought about the defeat of Capitalism by killing the capitalist leader, there was prolonged, deafening cheering, hand clapping, and stamping of feet. The plot reeked with violence and death, but the state of mind of the Russians was such that they shouted with sheer joy at that sort of thing, when the enemies of Socialism were the victims.

Readers of the above may think that the Russians are a strange people—but are they? Would we act the same under similar conditions? I think we would. During World War I, I saw a war propaganda movie in Boston, Mass., in which two young second lieutenants, dressed in neat khaki uniforms and leather leggings, walked rapidly in step, along a street; then turned sharply, and walked into an office building. They were on the screen about 30 seconds. When they first appeared on the screen, ripples of applause broke out simultaneously in various sections of the theatre, which increased rapidly in intensity and volume until the officers turned. The turn set off, as by pre-arranged signal, the most tremendous volume of applause I have ever heard in an American theatre. It was as though Babe Ruth had just knocked a home run in the Yankee Stadium, which decided the World's Series in favor of the Yankees.

The movie scene which caused all this spontaneous applause—and spontaneous it certainly was because nobody was directing or leading it—was laid in an American city; and no military personnel, other than the two young officers, was shown. There were no flags flying, drums beating, or cannons booming. The

young officers had apparently just graduated from a training camp; there was certainly nothing in the picture to cause anyone to believe that they had killed any Germans, or otherwise distinguished themselves. There was no reason for anyone to believe that they ever had been near a battle. Actually they were still in America, and there was not a line or action of any kind to indicate that they were likely to leave for the front at any time soon. In short there was absolutely nothing heroic about the young men, and the setting was nothing but an ordinary street scene.

Why then the tremendous applause? The answer is that the audience was so keyed up by war propaganda, that it would have applauded anything that suggested war. The uniforms of the young officers, and the quick turn by them, indicating that they had had at least enough military training to enable them to keep in step while making the turn, furnished the cue for the release of pent up hysterical enthusiasm. If a German soldier had appeared in the theatre at that moment, that mob would have torn him limb from limb—or attempted to at any rate.

CHAPTER VII

FREEDOM

Is there any freedom in Russia? It has been repeated so often by almost all of our sources of information that there is no freedom in Russia, that now nearly everyone, who considers the question at all, takes it for granted that the Russians are, practically speaking, an enslaved people.

From observations made in that part of Russia where her new social and economic theory has been given its most exacting tests, I have come to the conclusion that there is freedom in Russia, but it is not the same kind of freedom that we have in the United States. That is, the Russians do not measure freedom with the same yardstick that we use.

We have freedom to do and say what we please, even to the extent of denouncing our government, our president, our courts, or anything or anybody we choose for that matter, without so much as risking a summons to police court. We are free to gain a living, and even to amass great riches by the sweat of our neighbor's brow—not ours. We are free to exploit our poor. Indeed, we are free to make laws which keep our poor in ignorance so that we can more easily exploit them. We are free to prevent our poor from obtaining information which might cause them to become restless and question or challenge our power over them. We are free to prevent our children and our neighbor's children from receiving an education. We are free to denounce and

boycott any newspaper which prints the truth about the awakening of the masses or liberal movements in general the world over—and especially so about Russia. During the great 1929-1939 depression we were even free to quit our jobs and go on relief! And many Americans did this. Yes. Any reasonable observer will readily admit that we have freedom in abundance.

It is quite true that the Russians do not enjoy our particular brand of freedom, but they do have freedom. It is a different kind of freedom; a freedom we do not have, never have had, and never in our most pleasant dreams ever expect to have. The Russians are free from all worry and fear of a helpless, dependent old age. They are free from all worry and fear of losing their jobs, crop failures, factory shutdowns, strikes, etc. They are free from all worry about doctor's bills, store bills, interest on the mortgage, or any other money matters. They are free from all worry about whether or not their children will be properly educated. They are even free from all worry and fear of everlasting torment in hell, because the Bolsheviks have abolished that future place of abode for folk that God dislikes.

It seems to me that the Russians have a kind of freedom which would be well worth examining. Surely there is much good in it.

It is well known that the percentage of people suffering from insanity and nervous diseases is decreasing rapidly in Russia. The reason for this is that the principal causes of those diseases—worry and fear—are being rapidly eliminated by the Russian idea of freedom. It may be well to observe here that insanity is the major social and health problem in the United States. According to Associated Press dispatches, sixty per cent of all occupied hospital beds in the United States were, before the war, assigned to patients suffering from mental and nervous diseases, and during the last fifty years, insanity has been increasing—in the

United States—much faster than the population. This, of course, means that if our insanity rate is not reduced—and the best authorities on mental and nervous diseases can see no prospect of reducing it—our insane population will eventually become so large that it will constitute an unbearable economic burden.

Mental and physical unfitness of American youth is a national disgrace as rejections by our draft boards have clearly shown—and the rejections for mental ailments were higher than for any other cause, running as high as thirty per cent in some areas. But because our medical system operates on a “more sick, more profits” basis (or perhaps I should say, on a “medical-aid-if-the-patient-has-money” basis), not much can be done to improve our national health until we change our system. Actually it is now to the interest of our doctors that our *sick* rate remain *high*! The contrary is true in the Soviet Union. There it is to the interest of the doctors that the health rate remain high, for then they have more time for study and research, activities which increase their earning power. (And of course these activities serve to push the health rate still higher.)

In the Soviet Union medical aid depends not upon the ability of the patient to pay, but solely upon whether he needs medical attention. As a result of this procedure the health rate is high—much higher than it is in the United States—and is constantly rising. Rejections for Russian military service for all causes during the war against Hitler probably were less than five per cent (ours were nearly fifty per cent!), and practically no Russians were rejected for mental or nervous ailments. The young people of the Soviet Union are practically free from mental disturbances of every kind that are caused by environment. This is another of the freedoms which have been developed in the Soviet Union—freedom from insanity. And freedom from disease may not be too much to expect of the Soviet medical system.

CHAPTER VIII

POLICY

Radicals, liberals and reformers of every kind, outside the Soviet Union, who expect help from the present Soviet government, are not likely to get anything much more tangible than sympathy. The reason for this apparent lack of interest by the Soviet leaders is plainly evident.

It seems that the original formula for the success of the Russian Revolution was that the revolutionists should "take over" foreign governments, as well as the Russian government. That is, spread the Revolution, in one way or another, all over the world. (Incidentally, most, if not all, Trotzkyists believe in this formula, and because they do, many people erroneously believe that all Communists do.)

Even before the Czar was overthrown, however, there was serious disagreement among the leaders of the Revolution as to this formula. This disagreement finally caused a definite split in the revolutionary movement. (Stalin eventually led one faction and Trotzky eventually led the other.) The split threatened the very existence of the Revolution as unity of purpose was needed above all else. Certainly the Revolution could not long survive disunity or dissension. There was a very bad split, however, and all concerned clearly recognized it. The Trotzkyists wished to extend the Russian Revolution to other countries—to have Russians liberate the oppressed throughout the world—just as some of the

leaders of the French Revolution insisted on doing. Some Americans thought and acted along similar lines in 1898, and even in 1917-18 our statesmen did considerable talking along that line. Our statesmen, I must hasten to mention, were decidedly not communists. They were, for the most part at least, die hard capitalists, and therefore quite different from the "Reds," but they were strong for the liberation of the downtrodden and enslaved peoples of other nations.

In all probability some of our statesmen were then inebriated by their own verbosity on the subject, but the result was the same. A program for the liberation of people, whether sponsored by capitalists or communists, always attracts a sympathetic following. A crusade, so to speak, of this kind excites the imagination; and when enough propaganda is brought to bear on the subject, it seems such a noble undertaking that everything else should be sacrificed to that purpose. Anyway, according to the best information available in Europe, Trotzky and his followers strongly insisted upon this idea. They flatly refused to consider any terms except those of world revolution. Stalin, and many of the other old Bolsheviks, however, were in favor of consolidating their gains and strengthening Russia against attack. Stalin's group was in favor of attempting to convert the world to Socialism by peaceful means; to set an example for other nations to follow. That is, it wanted to build Russia up to such a high state of peaceful civilization that other nations would be forced by public opinion to follow her lead. Stalin was unalterably opposed to further frittering away the strength of Russia by financing abortive attempts at revolutions in other countries.

Stalin, it should be observed, is no late arrival in the Communist camp. He has been in the fight since the beginning, and has suffered for the Cause about as much as anyone could reasonably expect a comrade to

suffer. He was imprisoned by the Czar's police about five or six times, but he generally broke prison and escaped. He was a military commander in the fight against the eleven capitalistic nations which attacked Russia shortly after the Soviet leaders took over the government; and he drew some definite conclusions from that sanguinary conflict which have greatly influenced his conduct ever since.

The eleven nations finally abandoned their efforts to overthrow the Soviets; but Stalin, and his followers, could not see any valid reason for believing that those nations would not return to the attack at some future date. They did not believe that the capitalistic nations would idly stand by and allow the Russian socialistic system to become too powerful. This group of communists did not trust the capitalists any more than the capitalists trusted them—mutual distrust all around, so it seems.

Comrades in other countries could expect sympathy from Stalin, but little else. If the downtrodden masses in other countries wanted to be liberated, they would have to get busy and do their own liberating; they would have to throw off their shackles themselves. Stalin was sorry, but he had troubles of his own to worry about.

Subsequent events have borne out the fact that Stalin's estimate of the situation was the correct one, and that his followers took the safer course. Russia is certainly much stronger now than she would have been if she had not consolidated her gains.

The struggle within the Party continued for several years; each faction being about equal in strength. It finally became evident to all concerned that no reconciliation between the two schools of thought was possible. Events outside Russia gradually shifted the balance of power to Stalin's faction. Abortive attempts, planned by the Trotzky faction, to establish Soviet gov-

ernments in Italy, Germany, Hungary, Austria, Poland, and other countries had failed miserably. Then finally the collapse of the Russian attempt to aid the socialistic movement in China in 1927, ended the battle for leadership. When Chiang Kai-shek lost interest in Trotzky, the end came. Trotzky lost heavily and the Stalin faction won full control of the Communist Party. Russia then definitely abandoned the Trotzky formula of world revolution by violence, and adopted the Stalin formula of consolidation and education.

I did not find in Europe or Asia any evidence to support the theory that Russia was planning an attack on any nation—not even Japan. Quite the contrary, all the evidence was against such a notion. Russia's magnificent army, which was certainly by far the strongest army in the world, was organized primarily for defense.

Stalin's bitterest enemies and severest critics were in agreement with his most enthusiastic supporters, that Russia under Stalin would lean over backwards to avoid a direct, unprovoked attack on any nation.

Stalin's announced policy to the Russian masses was a program of peace and non-aggression. His several Five-Year plans have been based on that policy. He desires peace with foreign nations in order that he may get on with the industrial development of Russia.

With the exception of rubber, Russia is an entirely self-supporting and self-contained country; and therefore foreign ill will, hatred, or even a blockade by powerful nations, could not hurt her much. Russia is now making synthetic rubber, and is also developing certain areas in the south that appear to be suited for extensive rubber growing.

Before Russia made deals with the Baltic states, acquired some bases in Finland, and smashed the Mannerheim line, the Leningrad area which contains about one-tenth of Russia's industrial plants, could have been defended only with great difficulty. Leningrad itself,

Russia's second largest city, could have been easily destroyed by guns on Finnish soil.

Russia was criticized for her action against Finland in 1939, but the fact remains that no great nation would have tolerated the situation that faced Russia in the Leningrad area. The first duty of government is to protect the governed from attack no matter how remote the danger may be. There is available considerable evidence that the Fascists had in mind an attack on Russia through Finland. The Fascists denied hostile intentions, but it is somewhat difficult to believe that the great Finnish air bases, capable of accommodating ten times as many planes as Finland could possibly own, and the formidable and costly Mannerheim line, were built by Finland solely for protection, or that they were built with Finnish money. Finland is—and always has been—a very poor country. Who furnished the money to build the Mannerheim line is still an embarrassing question to the Fascists.

In any case, if the United States was justified in taking a naval base in Cuba, and the Panama Canal area, then Russia was justified in securing the approaches to Leningrad. Russia simply took advantage of the struggle in Western Europe to strengthen herself against possible attack.

CHAPTER IX

AIMS

The Russians claim that their general plan of operation, and the central idea of "no exploitation of human beings" have not been changed in the slightest degree since the Soviets assumed power, but they concede that changes in methods are made as the need arises. They contend that in any attempt at planned economy, minor mistakes are inevitable. They point to our New Deal as an example. Under the Russian system, nothing is considered final. The Soviet leaders have always contended, however, that human rights are more important—in fact much more important—than property rights.

Most of the principal aims of the present Russian system, nearly all of which are now in full force, are as follows:

1. No exploitation of human beings. That is, no one is allowed to live, or even profit in any way, by the work of another.

2. Social security. That is, no one shall have any fear whatever, of a helpless, dependent old age. Parents are never a financial burden on their children or anybody else, and children are never a financial burden on their parents or anybody else. All men retire at fifty years of age and all women retire at forty-five years of age on half pay. This aim is one of the few that was not in full force when I was in Russia. The reason it was not in full force then was this: Many of the old people, and very likely some of the middle aged peo-

ple—those who would have benefited by it—were, and always had been, opposed to the new system, and since they were still under the thumbs of the priesthood, who keep the terrible specter of hell fire dangling before them, they would not co-operate in any way for fear of going to hell when they died. The authorities were waiting for the old, priest ridden people to die off before putting social security into full effect. Favoring, or even co-operating with communists had always been considered an unpardonable sin, not only by the priests of Russia, but by priests and other ministers of the gospel the world over.

The theory has often been advanced that the lack of security causes people to seek an escape through religion or alcohol—or both. The Russians seem to have proved that this hypothesis is true. Since the Russian people have been given social security, they have been neglecting both religion and alcohol, their former means of obtaining consolation when the world seemed to be conspiring against them, or when their future seemed dark and insecure. Incidentally, the Soviets have always considered certain religious practices and alcohol co-equal narcotics. That is, they contend that a person can get just as drunk on certain types of religion as he can on whiskey; that if he takes either in moderation, not much harm is done, but if he imbibes too freely of either, the result will be profound mental befuddlement.

3. Universal education. Under the Russian system, intelligence always has its opportunity to emerge. The Bolsheviks consider educated people an asset to the State; therefore, every effort is made to promote education. Each child is given ten years of schooling; that is the minimum. If a child has shown special promise during his ten years in school, has a high I. Q. (intelligence quotient), and can pass a rather hard examination, he, if he wishes, may go to college. Before entering college, however, he must complete two years'

work in the branch of industry he intends to study. In either case, whether he plans to go to college or quit school entirely, he is placed on the government pay roll when he finishes his tenth year in school. All the time he is in college, he not only has all his expenses paid by the government, but is paid a regular salary by the government.

A special effort is made to find out what the child is best suited for while he is in the lower grades. There are all sorts of manual training shops, which are operated in connection with the secondary schools. The student usually becomes interested in at least one of them. His teacher then encourages him to study the subjects which will best fit him for the kind of work which interests him most.

4. Steady employment at a living wage guaranteed by the government, for all men between eighteen and fifty years of age, and for all women between eighteen and forty-five years of age.

When a person reaches eighteen years of age, he or she is automatically placed on a pay roll. He does not have to go searching for a job when he graduates from school. In fact, he spends about half of his last six months in school, on the job he is to take when he leaves school. There is no lost motion or waste of time. There are somewhere around 1,600 different kinds of jobs to choose from. Theoretically, the worker may shift from one job to another until he gets a job that suits him, but there certainly must be a limit to this shifting about. His pay continues whether he is sick or well. It is not the worker's fault if he is sick; a doctor, who is paid by the government, is supposed to keep him well.

The pay of a man or woman is based on the kind of work he or she does, and on the number of children he or she supports. That is, the pay is arranged so that children are never a financial burden on their parents.

All workers receive a minimum wage and additional pay is given for better or more work done in the allotted time; a sort of piece-work system. This is called Stakhanovism.

There are no strikes or labor troubles of any kind in Russia. The authorities have entirely eliminated the need for strikes.

The Russian worker is not overworked or hurried in any way; reports to the contrary notwithstanding. He works in a rather slow, leisurely manner. I mention this because I have often read that the Russian worker is driven like a slave by his boss in his effort to increase production. I certainly saw at least 10,000 Russian men and women at work, but I never saw a single one of them working as hard or as fast as the average American worker has to work in private industry, if he wants to hold his job. The Russian worker, however, does not loaf on the job.

Short hours for workers. Six hours per day for very hard work and seven hours per day for ordinary work; five days of a six-day week. This corresponds to a little less than forty-one hours for our seven day week. The Russian calendar is different from ours. It contains five six-day weeks in each month.*

5. Free medical assistance. The Russians believe that the State benefits by keeping its citizens well, and therefore sees to it that they get proper medical care. All medical assistance, including room and board in hospitals, is free. Medicine to take home, however, must be paid for. The authorities are trying to discourage the practice of people treating themselves. They insist that when a person is sick he should see a doctor.

* Probably because of the new international situation ("one world" trend) and the consequent desirability of using the same method of measuring time that most other countries are using, Russia has suspended this calendar and reinstated the Gregorian calendar. She has also temporarily instituted an eight-hour day, forty-eight hour work week.

6. Public ownership of principal natural resources including land, minerals, timber, waterpower, etc.

7. Public ownership of all buildings with one notable exception: all the people have the right to own their homes.

8. Public ownership of the chief means of production and distribution. Workers, whether on a farm, in a factory, or anywhere else work for, and receive their salary from, the government. This aim is not in full force, and probably will not be for many years. An example of this aim not being in full force is the collective farm.

9. Complete political, social, and economic freedom of women. Women are not the property of the State as we have been told. Quite the contrary, I personally believe that women are freer in Russia than in any other country in the world. Women in Russia enjoy exactly the same rights as men. The notice never reads, "man wanted," or "woman wanted." It always reads "worker wanted." Whoever can do the work, gets the job, and the pay is exactly the same for either man or woman. Women are entirely independent of men.

Before the Soviets came to power, women had practically no rights that men were required by law to respect. Women of the lower classes were nothing more than slaves, and the Church taught that women were by nature bad, and warned men against them.

10. Government supervision over the care of all children. Children are considered wards of the State. The State sees to it that all children are properly fed, clothed, educated, and otherwise cared for; that they get a fair chance in life. Children receive pre-natal care. Babies are examined by doctors several times a week in most cases, and in many cases, as in large cities where sufficient doctors are available, daily. Children are assisted in many ways by the government.

In America, some children are allowed to grow up in ignorance because their parents refuse or neglect to send them to school, and the government does nothing about it. We argue that the government should not interfere in family matters. We argue that we are a free people, and, therefore, are free to allow our children to grow up in ignorance if we want to; it is our private affair; it is one of our numerous "rights"; a part of the "freedom" that we boast so much about. Of course, we have compulsory education laws, but these laws are not enforced, and so far as the South is concerned, they are a partial failure. In Virginia, for example, we do not have enough properly equipped schools for our children. We give as our reason for not building more schools, that all of the children do not go to school anyway, therefore, the schools are not needed, so why burden the taxpayers? We, in turn, give as our reason for not forcing parents to send their children to school, that we do not have sufficient schools to accommodate them! Many Americans who educate their children are not concerned about their neighbor's children. They piously say, "Since the parents do nothing for their children, why should we, or the government do anything about it?" They dismiss the matter by saying, "That family is no good anyway, it has never amounted to anything for many generations, so why bother about it?" In Russia, a different view is taken of the matter. The authorities do not subscribe to the theory, that is often accepted in America, that children must and should suffer for the sins and shortcomings of their parents. They contend that children should have a fair chance, and what is more to the point, the government sees to it that the children get a fair chance, regardless as to what the parents think about it. If the parents insist on remaining ignorant, the government does not interfere in the least, but if the parents insist that their children also

remain ignorant, the government takes a hand in the matter. That is, the Russian government denies the right of parents to keep their children in ignorance.

Only a very few children under eighteen years of age may be gainfully employed in Russia. These are apprentices in certain basic industries where special training is necessary to develop skillful workers. No children under sixteen years of age are allowed to be gainfully employed.

11. Complete separation of religion from politics, economics, sociology, public education, etc. In Russia, people go to church for religious reasons only; not for political, business, social, or other reasons, as they often do in other countries.

12. Complete elimination of the accident of birth as a factor in the advancement of the individual. A hereditary ruling class, such as exists in England, and to a lesser extent in the United States, seems impossible under the Russian system. In practically all countries except Russia, the lack of financial means often prevents the emergence of intelligence, but this is not true in Russia. Under the school system in force there, intelligence always has its opportunity. Certainly, few, if any, persons in Russia now hold their positions by reason of luck due to the accident of birth.

13. A friendly feeling between all races. This is, without any doubt, of the greatest importance to humanity and the advancement of civilization. All of Russia's national and racial groups are given every opportunity to preserve their culture.

14. Gradual development of a classless society. No class distinctions of any kind are allowed. No dueling or brawling is allowed. Bullying, boisterousness, and horseplay have practically disappeared from Russia. The Soviet leaders consider those activities anti-social.

15. No philanthropy, or private relief of any kind. That is, no one is paid for doing nothing. A per-

son may quit his job, but if he does so he can not go on relief as we in the United States can. The idea enforced, with all able bodied people, is: only those who work may eat. One cannot now find beggars, bums, or loafers anywhere in Russia, except near church doors. Tipping is considered an anti-social custom, and if not absolutely forbidden it certainly is not practiced.

16. Simplified legal and police system. Punishment for crime is now more certain and swift in Russia than in most other countries, and much more so than in the United States. If a person quits his job, the fact is immediately reported to the police, who keep a sharp watch on him to prevent him from engaging in any illegal activity. However, neither the police nor the courts may force such a person to take a job.

17. Complete elimination from the minds of the people of all fear of the supernatural, especially fear of hell, or place of torment after death. This is considered one of the most important, and far reaching reforms in Russia, as it has already resulted in a decrease in the insanity rate.

18. Vacations with full pay, and trips to health and recreation resorts with all expenses paid by the government.

19. A gradual elimination of the alcohol and tobacco habit through education. No prohibitions or anything resembling prohibitions, but instead, there is a strong and active temperance and anti-tobacco educational movement carried on in the schools, and other places where the young people gather. Heavy drinking is frowned upon, and an intoxicated person is decidedly unpopular. If a man has lost time from his work, due to drunkenness, he is not paid at the regular pay office, but at an office built to resemble a large whiskey bottle. This bottle-shaped office is placed in a courtyard where all may see. Intoxicated persons, incidentally, are not

considered criminals; they are not sent to jails, but to hospitals.

The government is weaning drinkers away from liquor by putting something in it to make it just a slight fraction less palatable. The substance is increased ever so slightly, from time to time; just enough to cause a person to drink a little less, but not enough to drive him to home-made concoctions. I never saw a drunken person in Russia in spite of the fact that I kept a sharp lookout for heavy drinkers.

Under the Czar, temperance meetings were forbidden not only by the government, but by the Church. In the United States, most churches are opposed to intoxicating liquors, but in Russia the Church and intoxicating liquors went hand in hand.

20. The final aim is to establish a true democracy where all people are free and equal, and where there is complete freedom from want and fear.

All of the above mentioned twenty aims seem to be within our reach through the ballot box. Revolution, and its attendant horrors, would not be necessary should we decide to adopt any or all of them.

With the sole exception of aim number 11, which would be an exceedingly difficult one for Americans to agree on, I cannot see anything unreasonable about the Russian aims. In fact many of them seem desirable; so desirable that I think at least seventeen of them are well worth immediate consideration. The two remaining, numbers 7 and 8, may also be worth considering. All of these aims, of course, would be opposed, but I doubt if the majority of us would worry overmuch about a proposal to adopt them. Our New Deal, incidentally, has given at least some consideration to practically every one of these advanced liberal aims.

In Russia, it is theoretically possible to save and become rich and leave some of one's property to one's heirs, but in practice the idea is discouraged. There

is no law against becoming very rich and living upon the interest of one's money deposited in banks or invested in government bonds, but it probably would be somewhat dangerous to do so. If a person got very rich, he probably would be looked upon with suspicion as a potential counter-revolutionist.

The Russian authorities believe it better for society if all humans start at scratch and not be aided or handicapped, as the case may be, by inheritances.

Under the Russian system, there does not seem to be any real necessity to save anything beyond one's immediate needs as one is always certain of a life income, and never has any actual dependents. In the event that a person should die before his or her children become self-supporting, they will be cared for by the State.

While it is not possible for one to get rich from the work of another, it probably is possible to make a little money, for awhile, by circumventing the law, but the process is difficult and exceedingly dangerous. For example, it is well within the law to rent a large house, or several large houses, from the government, and employ many servants, but if you take in a paying guest, and one of your servants waits on him, you are breaking the law. Severe penalties are provided for offences of this kind. That is, the principal aim of the Russian system, that of "no exploitation of human beings," must be scrupulously observed.

I did not find in Russia any reason to cause me to believe that the Russian system hamstring private initiative as has so often been stated. Quite the contrary; private initiative which benefits the people is certainly encouraged. In the case of an inventor, for example; he is subsidized by the State, and is encouraged in many ways. When he invents something of value to civilization, he not only is rewarded for his efforts, but also he has the satisfaction of knowing that his invention will be used to benefit all of his country-

men, and will not be used to enable a few to make huge profits. It seems logical to suppose that additional incentives would hardly be necessary to inspire an inventor. Inventors as a class have never been selfish, and it is an unfair reflection on their characters to contend that they would not attempt to do anything under the Russian system. I do not have such a low opinion of genius.

The basic fact of new Russia—and no doubt the reason for her success in both peace and war—is that all of the social forces within the Soviet Union have been channelized to flow in the direction of the best interests of all the peoples of the Union. That is, the people have been educated to believe, and to understand, that it is to their own best interests—both as individuals and as groups—to act in a way that will best serve the interests of all the people.

Social co-operation is now so deeply a part of Russian philosophy that it is really the “way of life” throughout the entire Soviet Union. And it is my opinion that this philosophy is now so universally accepted there that compulsion of any kind, either in war or peace, is no longer necessary or desirable in dealing with adults. To perpetuate this “way of life” all children are carefully and constantly taught that co-operation is the key to social progress; that it is of paramount importance in the future advancement of civilization.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS

I could not find in Russia or anywhere else any good grounds for believing that there is any truth in the generally accepted beliefs concerning terrible conditions in Russia. I believe now that many of the reports from which those beliefs were founded were manufactured out of whole cloth, or built up from rumors, for the purpose of keeping the general public in ignorance as to the actual conditions existing in that country and to prejudice the general public against Russia. It is a good example of false propaganda at its best. It could well be compared with the perhaps necessary World War I propaganda, which was circulated in America for the purpose of fanning the flame of hate for our enemies, and to awaken the martial spirit. Many Americans will remember that we were constantly told that our enemies were cutting off the hands of babies, crucifying prisoners of war, and doing many other terrible things which have since been proven false.

The unrest throughout western Europe just before World War II began was caused by the fact that the poor people were learning the truth about Russia. They were no longer being fooled by the false propaganda concerning terrible conditions in Russia which was being spread by the enemies of that country all over the world, and were demanding that their governments free them from economic slavery.

It seems an inescapable fact that the people of Russia are not only fighting their own battle, but also that they are fighting the battles of the downtrodden masses the world over. The magnificent struggle that they are making against the evils which beset mankind immediately claims the sympathetic attention of practically all visitors to Russia; it is almost impossible to be unsympathetic towards them after one has seen the magnitude of their accomplishments in the face of almost insurmountable opposition.

Almost without exception, every European I talked with who had visited Russia, since the Revolution, told me, or at least plainly indicated to me, that he not only believed that the Russian leaders are leading their people out of darkness, but also that they are showing the way to all the oppressed peoples of the world; that he wished them success in their efforts regardless as to who happened to be in a position to be inconvenienced by the spread of the Russian idea; that he would not under any circumstances fight in a war of aggression against Russia. Not a single one of them said that he would fight, or even consider fighting, on the side of the enemies of Russia. It is hard to imagine anyone so hard-hearted and cruel as to wish anything but good luck to the Russian authorities in their struggle to raise the living standard.

During all my travels in Russia, I did not meet a single visitor who had come to that country for a lark, to have a good time, or for general sight seeing purposes. That class of travelers simply was not going to Russia then. I met, however, about fifty visitors to Russia. Those visitors represented many different countries, nations, races, and ideals. Every one of them, without exception, was there to examine and study the Russian system. All, or certainly nearly all, of these people represented a high level of intelligence. They were well educated. Professors, teachers, social

workers, advanced college students who were gathering material for theses, foreign language students, a minister of the gospel, a member of the British foreign service, and others of similar educational rank were in the group.

The reactions of these fifty adult persons, who were more or less together for a considerable period in Moscow, the city where the Russian system is farthest advanced, and who compared notes on what they saw, were about as follows:

One said that he could not see anything good about any part of the Russian system. In fact it all seemed very bad indeed to him. He was an elderly English gentleman.

Two said that they saw many things to criticize. . . . Many old women peeling potatoes in a large kitchen, for example. Why not use mechanical potato peelers as we do in America? Too many accidents in factories. Not enough leather shoes; too much overcrowding; not enough automobiles and buses. Both of these people were—strangely enough—idealistic Leftists from the United States. They expected better things from their “comrades” in Russia. I noted when in Russia, that the American Leftists generally were less enthusiastic about the Russian system than was to be expected. (There undoubtedly is a difference between many American crusaders for Socialism and the Russians.) This is probably due to the fact that the present Russian system is not yet true Socialism or Communism as we Americans think of those isms. It is, however, the nearest approach to true Socialism that exists anywhere on earth.

Some American Leftists seem to be opposed to the Russian system, and they occasionally attack it. These attacks receive wide publicity in American newspapers and magazines. It is said by those familiar with the situation that the easiest and surest way to get rich

is to be a Communist, or at least an advanced liberal, for many years, then suddenly change sides and write a book denouncing the Russian system. The free publicity that book will receive in the newspapers, magazines, on the radio, and from the public platform is nothing short of astounding.

Two said that they saw many good points in the Russian system; considered it infinitely better than the system it displaced, and thought it perfectly fine for the Russians, and for many other nations, but thought it would not do for the English speaking races. Both of these people were perfectly charming young English ladies who were interested in social work in England. Five said that they thought the system good, and that nearly all nations in the world would do well to adopt it, or at least adopt some of its best features, without delay. They thought that because of special conditions in the British Empire and the United States (Indian question in the British Empire and the race and personal freedom questions in the United States) those countries could not adopt the entire Russian system, but they thought that nearly all of its principal features could be adopted by those countries to the great advantage of the great majority of the people of those countries. (I was in this group.) One of those five was a newspaper man, who was also a minister of the gospel. He indicated to me in a guarded way that the reason why newspaper reporters sent out bad news about Russia was because the publishers demanded bad news, and would not print any other kind for fear of losing their advertising. He indicated also that a reporter who so far forgot himself as to send in a good report on Russia, would probably be recalled and dismissed.

The other forty were unanimous in their belief that the whole world would be better off if the entire Russian system were adopted immediately by all nations.

One question that American visitors always ask the Russians, runs something like this: "Do you have agents in the United States who are trying to overthrow the United States Government?" This question, incidentally, is one which the American Legion, and other patriotic societies of which I am a member, often gets excited about. Naturally I asked the question when I was in Moscow. For answer the Russians showed me a great map of Russia on a wall in the Museum of the Red Army. This map had pinned on it many small flags representing the positions held—on Russian soil—by soldiers of eleven foreign nations—including the United States—which were fighting the Bolsheviks in an attempt to overthrow them at a time when they, the Bolsheviks, were hard pressed by the counter-revolutionary royalist armies. After I had examined the map rather closely, my Russian hosts remarked very casually that the Bolsheviks have never even been accused of landing troops in the United States.

It seems to me that if our self-appointed super-super-patriots would go to Russia and examine that map they would revise some of their propaganda material.

EPILOGUE

This book, as explained in the author's note, is merely a revised edition of "RUSSIA AND THE APPROACH OF ARMAGEDDON," the first printing of which, issued in March, 1939, was a compilation of material taken from addresses delivered and articles published by the author during 1937, 1938 and 1939—on the eve of the "Armageddon."

"RUSSIA AND THE APPROACH OF ARMAGEDDON" was intended as a ready reference on the world situation. It attempted to explain why a great political-social-economic upheaval (world catastrophe) was imminent, what probably would happen, and why it would happen. Because the world catastrophe arrived as predicted the material which explained why it would arrive is, of course, out of date. For this reason, it has been omitted from this book.

THE ARMAGEDDON BEGINS

The Fascist attack on Russia and the United States in 1941 was, in all probability, the real beginning of the "Armageddon," the final showdown between democracy and autocracy, and while it brought death and the other handmaidens of disaster in unprecedented force, it must finally give greater impulse toward world liberation than any other event in all history. In the end it cannot do other than aid the downtrodden everywhere in the world.

Until the great "all-out" Fascist attack of 1941, the Leftist (democratic) elements all over the world were not working together in anything like full harmony, and there was always a chance of the enslavement by Fascism of the entire human race, but now that danger has passed. The attack united practically all believers in democracy everywhere, and now Fascism can never win. The people of the world are now at long last fully awake and aware of their danger, and they will see to it that liberty and freedom shall not perish.

History will record that collaboration between Russia and the United States resulted from the Axis aggression, and that this collaboration was beneficial to both countries and especially Russia. Russia needed a more favorable understanding in other countries, but until the Fascist attack there was no possible way for her to obtain this. Now, because of her magnificent fight against Hitler's mighty army, the greatest force dedicated to the destruction of democracy ever assembled on this earth, Russia has clearly demonstrated her true stand at the side of democracy in a manner which can never again be seriously hurt by false propaganda.

Everybody knows that before the Fascist attack, Russia got practically no favorable comment from the world press, radio or pulpit. We heard all about the bad, but nothing about the good, in Russia. Because of the Fascist attack, an aggression which could not be justified or explained away by Fascist-minded haters of Russia, a great change was brought about, and we began to get at least some truth about Russia, her people and their problems.

It has often been said that a person's judgment is no better than his information. If this is true, then the American public cannot be blamed for misjudging Russia in the past. For more than two decades a tremendous campaign of false propaganda designed to make Americans hate Russia was carried on by almost all

of our sources of information. This campaign was quite successful, and the American people learned to hate Russia with a vehemence unequaled in modern times by a nation at peace.

The change in policy by the sources of world information was a great "windfall" not only for Russia, but also for the progressive forces in every country in the world, and its value is beyond price. This great good fortune certainly would not have come if Russia had attacked Germany, no matter how desirable such an attack might have been. Russia learned this only too well when she sought to remove the Mannerheim Line, a threat to her security in a border country then governed by a Fascist dictatorship. In this case the sources of world information even went so far as to imply that Russia was attacking a democratic government. Germany, no doubt, would have been classed as a quite innocent victim of a treacherous and ruthless aggressor, if Russia had moved against her—even if such a move had been made when the Nazis were overrunning France, and the British were leaving Dunkirk. And certainly Germany would have received strong material and moral support from many of the great nations of the world—including England and France. (We must remember that the Fascists had—and still have—strong fifth column organizations in every country in the world—except Russia—which bring strong pressure to bear on the government.)

There is good reason for believing that at the Munich conference Hitler was encouraged to move Eastward; to attack Russia. And since Russia was not even invited to the conference, she certainly could not be blamed if she assumed that a great coalition was being organized to crush her. She then had to prepare to receive the onslaught, and take whatever action she could to delay as long as possible the attack upon her. Russia then could no longer give aid to those who were

still trying to oppose Fascism in western Europe—or anywhere else. It was necessary that she look to her own safety, and certainly she had no choice but to await the attack by the great Fascist combination. Any other action would have been suicidal for her.

The period between the Munich conference and June 22, 1941, was a most critical epoch for civilization; certainly the most critical in modern times. Fascism rose rapidly in strength and prestige, and the fate of the human race for many generations yet unborn hung in the balance. It is not at all reasonable to suppose that America could have given effective aid to what little was left of democracy in western Europe during that period. Certainly if the Russians felt obliged to keep clear, there was no good reason for believing that we could help.

A policy of non-intervention in European affairs probably was, until as late as June 22, 1941, the best and safest course for us to follow. Until that fateful day when Hitler sent his armies into Russia, the world situation—and certainly our danger—was not obvious. American public opinion would not have supported wholeheartedly action against Fascism. However, on that day the world situation took a drastic change, and it became much clearer. The American people then began to become aware of their danger from Fascism. Isolation then became impossible, and intervention necessary if the United States was to remain free from serious threat of invasion.

Without any doubt the attack on Russia helped greatly to create a unified support for our President's policy of opposing Fascism everywhere in the world. The American people then began to realize that they were in the same boat as Russia; that if Russia were defeated, Fascism could hardly be stopped in its onward march of world conquest.

As long as Russia maintained a great army near

Germany's border, America was in little danger from Hitler. Even if he had taken over the entire British Navy—and every other ship in the world that we did not control—he never could have risked an invasion of America as long as the Russian Army remained strong. But when he attacked Russia, we had no choice but to consider Germany—and her allies—a real threat to us, and to give all possible aid to all who opposed Fascism everywhere in the world. There was absolutely no other alternative for us, if we desired to remain a democracy. Because if Hitler defeated Russia and got control of that country's vast natural resources, he could hardly have been stopped if he had attempted to conquer the world. It may be added that even if Hitler had never attempted to invade the Western Hemisphere, he would have provided such a grave threat to us that taxes alone to support a defense system capable of fighting off such an invading force as he could have assembled, might possibly have reduced us to the level of the Fascist controlled countries.

It should be understood, of course, that smashing Fascism and similar political-social-economic ideologies will not end the world's troubles, but it must also be understood that very little good can be accomplished, very little can be done toward relieving the burdens of humanity, until the threat of world Fascism is removed. That objective must come first, must be put ahead of even our own problems of aiding the ill fed, ill clothed and ill housed. . . .

When Fascism's grip on Europe and Asia is finally broken, there will be loosed tremendously potent but long suppressed revolutionary forces possessing almost uncontrollable pent-up hate, and thirst for revenge. These forces will be bent on destroying every person and every thing even suspected of giving aid, comfort or assistance of any kind, no matter how small, to Fascism. Beyond any doubt very few Fascists or their

henchmen will be able to escape retribution. The Russians may be expected to counsel moderation and act as a restraining influence on these revolutionary forces, and do everything possible to save in the Fascism-wrecked countries anything that may be of value to civilization. That is, the Russians probably will help police Europe and Asia until the spirit of destruction of everything that gave rise to Fascism, runs its course and subsides. And then the Russians will help reconstruct the wrecked civilization along lines desired by the people.

Considering all the factors in the over-all world situation it seems reasonably clear that a co-operative social and economic system will finally spread—slowly but surely—over the entire Eastern Hemisphere. This system will probably be at least somewhat similar to the present Russian system, not because of “pressure” from Russia, but because the people will realize that but for the strength of the Russian system, they all would have become slaves of Fascism. It may be added that there are some things about the Russian social and economic system such as free medical treatment, free education, social security, etc., which have a great appeal to poor people—and there will be untold millions of people in abject poverty in Europe and Asia when this struggle ends. These people certainly will demand a better distribution of the necessities of life—and this demand will have to be satisfied.

Under the circumstances which now prevail, and which must prevail for many years into the future, it seems reasonable to suppose that the liberated peoples of Europe and Asia will insist upon the adoption of many of the principles of the Russian system; certainly those principles which made Russia strong in her time of grave peril.

There is no reason, however, for believing that the Russians—even though they are the principal saviours

of Europe, and possibly the world, from Fascism—will attempt to force their system on other nations, but there is good reason for believing that they will aid the people of other nations which were subjected to Fascist rule if those people desire aid. And it may be taken for granted that at least most Europeans will desire protection against Fascist influences for a long time in the post-war period, because it is entirely too much to expect that Fascism will or can be destroyed solely by military force.

It is true that the Fascists have been beaten on the battlefield, but even so Fascist influences will survive for many years, and the people will need protection against them. Many millions of people in the Eastern Hemisphere know little about any political-social-economic-religious ideology but some type of Fascism,*

* The fall of Mussolini was of little consequence as far as the underlying strength of Fascism was concerned. Mussolini was merely a symbol of Fascism. The strength of Fascism rests upon, and is directly proportional to, the strength of the privileged classes of the world. Fascism can be defined as a system by which the political-social-economic-religious order of a capitalistic nation is maintained by military force. It arrests, and turns back, the normal forward movement of civilization toward a true democracy. It operates under many different names, and in different forms. Nazism and Falangism are merely types of Fascism suited to Germany and Spain. The Fascists unalterably oppose any change in the world order which would make the world more democratic. This obviously distinguishes them from Democrats, Liberals, Socialists, and all the other political elements which insist that the world order must be made more democratic. Fascism originated in western Europe, but it has spread to, and taken deep root in, nearly every country in the world. It is not probable that there is any organization of more than a hundred men in any country in the world, except Russia, that does not contain at least one Fascist (believer in some type of Fascism) who in one way or another aids the Fascist movement. And in most organizations the percentage of Fascists is much higher, often as high as ten per cent even in democratic countries. (This estimate is based on a personal survey made by the author in about 40 countries, including the United States, during 1936-1940.) Fascist agents have even operated in Russia, but during the period between 1935 and 1940 she purged herself of at least nearly all of them. Fascism is, and must forever remain, the mortal enemy of the masses.

and many of these people have been taught from the cradle that Fascism must live forever; that it is the only possible solution to humanity's problems. For these reasons a long period of education will be needed to eliminate it and to convince the Fascists that Fascism, and kindred ideologies, are wrong. But this must be done if civilization is to advance.

The education—indoctrination in democratic principles—of the Fascists will be most difficult, because during the education period the Fascists, and other militant reactionaries, who have been defeated in war, will almost certainly merge with, or in some other way align themselves with, the political, but non-militant reactionary groups, and work with these groups in the interest of reaction. As all reactionary groups are always ranged against all progressive groups, and vice versa, these newly formed alliances will be opposed by the progressives—and the battle for world liberation of humanity will continue.

The reactionaries, as may be expected, fight on two fronts, a military front and a propaganda front, and while the military front is limited as to time and place, the propaganda front is not. It is now obvious even to those who are reluctant to believe it, that there are many reactionaries within all the United Nations, except Russia, who are now serving the interests of Fascism by preventing united action against that ideology.

Practically all of the anti-Fascist (progressive) people of the world are contending against Fascism, and every victory for them strengthens the position of democracy, but it should be clearly understood that this condition was brought about only after long, and at times apparently hopeless, efforts on the part of progressive leaders to arouse the people to the danger of Fascism. It was only after the Fascists became very strong and bold, and their aims obvious, or nearly so,

that the people generally paid any attention to warnings. However, as the situation developed, many people who formerly were not interested in the rise of Fascism, and refused to heed warnings, finally became convinced that all democratic principles everywhere in the world were in grave danger of being crushed out for generations. They then supported the progressive leaders who were demanding government action against Fascism. Thus the people of many nations, under progressive influence and leadership, finally forced their governments to challenge Fascism not only on the propaganda front, but also on the battlefield.

But this does not mean that the United Nations are all-out to defeat Fascism, or ever will be. This is impossible because the influence of reactionaries within the United Nations counterbalances much of the progressive influence. And since the reactionaries control most of the means of spreading propaganda, there is always danger that the balance of power may tip in their favor. If this happens we shall have fought a great war for nothing as we certainly shall lose the peace. This is the chief reason why the progressives must be vigilant.

Because only a little rise in reactionary influence could accomplish the defeat of United Nations' aims, it is necessary for everyone who believes in democracy and opposes Fascism to know who are reactionaries and who are progressives. The term "reactionaries" includes all of the many groups on the right end of the world ideological scale—the scale upon which all political-social*-economic-religious philosophies of life are measured—and the term "progressives" includes all of the many groups on the left end of this scale. And neither term should be considered, as is often done, to mean only one particular group.

* The word "social" is here assumed to include everything within the range of human activity which is not covered by the words "political," "economic," or "religious."

Reading from the extreme right-wing reactionary group leftward along the world ideological scale, the present positions of the principal ideological groups are at least approximately as follows: Falangists, Fascists, Japanese Imperialists, Nazis, Catholics,* Chinese and Indian Conservatives, English Tories,† Conservative Republicans, Democrats, Liberals, Laborites, Co-operators, Socialists, Spanish Republicans, Mexican Socialists, and Communists. Those listed up to and including the Conservative Republicans are reactionaries; that is, those who try to prevent the advancement of civilization. All the others are progressives, or what in Europe are called the "Popular Front" groups; that is, the groups which aid the advancement of civilization.

All—or at least all of any importance—of the many shades of world political-social-economic-religious thought not included in the above list can easily be fitted into it. Because of this, the scale can be used for identifying ideologically (determining relative political-social-economic-religious position) any individual or group when the political, social, economic and religious connections and interests of the individual or group are known. The scale can be expanded if necessary to aid in placing groups not easily identified. That is, each group listed on it can be divided into right-wing, center, and left-wing groups, and so on indefinitely. But this is a hair-splitting, and generally non-profitable process. In dealing with a group not included in the above list it is usually better to place it in the group on the scale into which it will best fit. For example, the Christian Fronters may be placed with the Fascists, the anti-Liberal Democrats with the Conservative Republicans, and the Liberal Republicans with the Democrats.

* This refers to the Catholic political-religious parties, mainly in Europe, which in the immediate pre-war years elected candidates to public offices, and not to purely religious groups.

† Extreme right-wing Conservatives of the Baldwin-Chamberlain type.

Due principally to changes in leadership, the positions on the scale of some of the groups shift slightly from time to time, but no group ever moves from one side of the scale to the other. (Parts of groups sometimes do this, but when they do they must be considered to have changed their ideology.) There are some comparatively small groups which seem to defy classification, but they may be dismissed as "lunatic fringe," or "unstable" elements, which have only a minor influence on the world situation. These groups, by using obstructionist tactics during war, sometimes serve the interests of reaction, but on the other hand during both war and peace they often aid progress by calling public attention to the defects within the existing political-social-economic-religious order.

There are a great many irreconcilable differences between the reactionaries and the progressives, and the groups at or near the opposite ends of the scale have less in common than those near the middle, but the chief difference between them is that the reactionaries favor the rich, while the progressives favor the poor; or stating the case another way, the reactionaries favor the few while the progressives favor the many.

Generally speaking, the political policies of the progressives favor the rule of the majority, while those of the reactionaries favor the rule of the minority; the social attitudes of the progressives favor racial equality, while those of the reactionaries favor racial inequality (master and subject race ideas); the economic theories of the progressives favor co-operation, while those of the reactionaries favor competition; and the religious beliefs of the progressives are based primarily on humanitarianism (a better life for everyone on earth), while those of the reactionaries are based on reward and punishment in the next world. These differences are more pronounced between the groups near the opposite ends of the ideological scale.

The progressives insist that the good things of life must be more equally distributed; that particularly a better chance for success (nearer approach toward equality of opportunity) for the children of the poor as compared with the children of the rich, must be provided for; that merit, rather than accident of birth, should provide the opportunity for advancement. They insist that the factors in the present world political-social-economic-religious order which contribute toward inequality of opportunity must be eliminated. On the other hand, most reactionaries seek to re-establish the pre-1917 world order, or failing that at least to maintain the present order in capitalistic countries.

Many, if not most, of the progressives favor a public ownership, production-for-use, economic system, while the reactionaries favor a private ownership, production-for-private-profit system.*

The religious ideas of the progressives are modernistic while those of most reactionaries are retrogressive (paganistic). The Deity of the right-wing reactionaries is usually anthropomorphic and wrathful, always has mighty powers, and is greatly feared. As we move leftward along the ideological scale, the Deity becomes less clear cut, usually less powerful, and is much less feared. When we cross the line which separates the reactionaries from the progressives, we find that the Deity is seldom anthropomorphic, is only faintly discernible in any form, and is hardly feared at all. When we approach the extreme left end of the scale we find that fear of a supernatural being is non-existent, and that no two persons, including those who may even concede

* This is the economic system of the Falangists, Fascists, Japanese Imperialists, and Nazis. It is a government-guaranteed-profits-to-owners system. Free enterprise (*laissez faire* capitalism) on anything but a very small scale is no longer possible anywhere in the world. Certainly every country which engages in foreign commerce must soon choose between public ownership and very rigid government control.

that there may be a material God, agree as to His form.

Most progressives believe that the Church should be separated from politics, sociology, and economics. They have no objection to the Church as an institution to care for man's spiritual needs, but they object to Church influence in politics, the anti-social and unhygienic aspects of certain widespread Church practices, and the manner in which the Church obtains and uses for sectarian purposes a large part of nearly every nation's economic strength. The progressives believe that secular agencies are better qualified to meet the political, social, and economic needs of the people than any Church agency is, or ever can be. They believe it would be better for all concerned, including religion and the Church itself, if the Church were separated from everything but religion.*

While the progressives are primarily interested in providing for a more nearly equal distribution of the good things of life, they would also raise, as rapidly as possible, the average living (cultural) standard of all humanity. And even though they often disagree radically among themselves on methods of procedure, they all work toward the same end all the time.

Many reactionaries call themselves conservatives, and of course do not consider themselves opponents of progress, but because of their connections and interests, none of them can be expected to support the liberal-progressive (democratic) movement; the ever forward movement caused by pressure of the masses demanding a higher living standard (which, of course, includes the Four Freedoms). The progressives, on the other hand, sponsor this movement. In fact they aid in some way all democratic movements of every kind, and in the face

*There are at least 48 different definitions of religion. Here religion is considered to be a belief binding the spiritual nature of man to a supernatural being.

of tremendous opposition they have spread their ideas over much of the world.

As long as the over-all world struggle against Fascism continues, and especially while there is any danger whatever of a Fascist victory, the progressives may be expected to try to work together for the common cause of destroying Fascism. But when the danger from Fascism becomes less obvious to the public generally there is danger that serious dissention will develop among the various progressive groups which will make co-operation between them difficult if not impossible. This danger must be guarded against as it could bring about eventual victory for the Fascists through a split in the United Nations, long after Fascism is utterly defeated on the battlefield.

It is not at all necessary, and perhaps not even desirable, that all the progressive groups agree on all methods of procedure in extending democratic principles, but during war or other periods of great distress it is necessary that they present a united front against Fascism. During peace, and especially during periods of prosperity in which there is little unrest these groups may find it convenient to work independently of each other, but co-operation between them rather than competition would seem the more desirable method of reaching their common goal, the liberation of humanity.

The Fascists cannot possibly save their cause unless a serious misunderstanding develops between the United States and Russia. Naturally all progressives hope that no such misunderstanding will arise, but many reactionaries, especially those within the United States, bitterly hate the Russians, and for that reason will try, in one way or another, to provoke a misunderstanding. This is another good reason why all believers in democracy should know who are reactionaries.

When the believers in democracy know from what sources propaganda designed to bring about discord

between the United States and Russia is to be expected, they can uncover and expose the disseminators of such propaganda. Only the most zealous patriots, however, will engage in this work as it is most difficult, thankless, and apparently never ending.

But because friendship between the United States and Russia is of the greatest importance to democracy, and because immensely powerful forces are constantly at work not only trying to make Americans distrust, fear and hate Russia, but also trying to make Russia distrust the United States, the work of promoting understanding, co-operation and friendship between these powers must be carried on with no respite. Beyond any doubt this is the most important educational work now demanding the attention of American patriots. For if a serious misunderstanding develops between the United States and Russia, the two greatest powers in the world, any time during the next few years, not only will the peace be lost to democracy, but another and more terrible war will be inevitable.

With the possible exception of Fascism, the greatest danger that democracy must remain on guard against is a war between the United States and Russia. Since this is obviously true it follows that it is imperative that no matter what else we or the Russians do in Europe or Asia, we must take all precautions to avoid becoming involved in any situation there which may give the enemies of Russia in America any grounds for demanding that we send Russia an ultimatum. There are many good reasons for this, but two of the best are as follows: 1. No good could possibly result from such an ultimatum, but great harm certainly would be caused by it. 2. Russia, or more properly the Soviet (People's Councils) Union, is a union of "Common Man" republics, which are fighting for all humanity, and all believers in democracy should help, rather than hinder, them.

It is clear that if no serious misunderstanding develops between the United States and Russia, the progressives will shape the destiny for all peoples of the world for centuries, if not forever. And it is also clear that no progressive nation need fear Russia.

Theoretically, all of the progressive groups will finally merge and form a great united democratic front, dedicated to the purpose of spreading democratic ideas all over the world by education. If this happens, and there are many good reasons for believing that it finally will happen, the world will slowly but surely be transformed into a pure political-social-economic-religious democracy in which there will be equality of opportunity for everyone and where no exploitation of human beings will be possible. Then the human race will have the Four Freedoms, and heaven on earth will be a reality and not a dream.

But world progress comes slowly, and victory over Fascism cannot bring immediately much more to the believers in democracy than a stronger bargaining position. None of the problems—the differences which divide the reactionaries from the progressives—that brought on the military struggle, will be settled by the victory. In fact there is every reason for believing that those problems will be multiplied. And certainly in every country in the world, except Russia, there will still remain many powerful reactionary groups which will have survived the conflict with only a little loss of prestige and influence. However, in the immediate future, the progressives will have a preponderance of military force on their side when presenting their case. And this is very important, for seldom in history have they had this advantage.

While in the overall (basic) world struggle, all of the progressive forces are on one side and all of the reactionary forces are on the other, the military part of the struggle is only between the progressives and the

militant reactionaries; that is, between the believers in democracy and those who would destroy democracy by military force.

Obviously war against all reactionaries is unnecessary, and even in countries where they are now very strong, no more blood should be shed than is absolutely necessary to reduce the militant reactionaries to a state in which they must confess publicly that they have given up all plans for establishing world Fascism.

The greatest need during the years immediately preceding 1941 was to convince the people of the world, and especially the people of the United States, that they must make common cause against Fascism. Civilization and democracy were always in grave danger as long as the people of the world were not convinced that concerted action against Fascism was necessary. The danger was removed during the period between June 21, 1941, and December 12, 1941, when the United States, Russia and the British Empire finally joined forces in a war to the death against that ideology. It is true that we were the last to join, but even so in the years to come we will always look back proudly upon the day when we finally threw our sword into the balance on the side of humanity.

Idealists may contend that destiny was unkind to the men and women of our armed forces—and the forces of our allies—but posterity will count them as fortunate; that they were chosen by fate to stand at Armageddon and fight for the good; that they manned the very front-line barricades in the great battle of liberation.

